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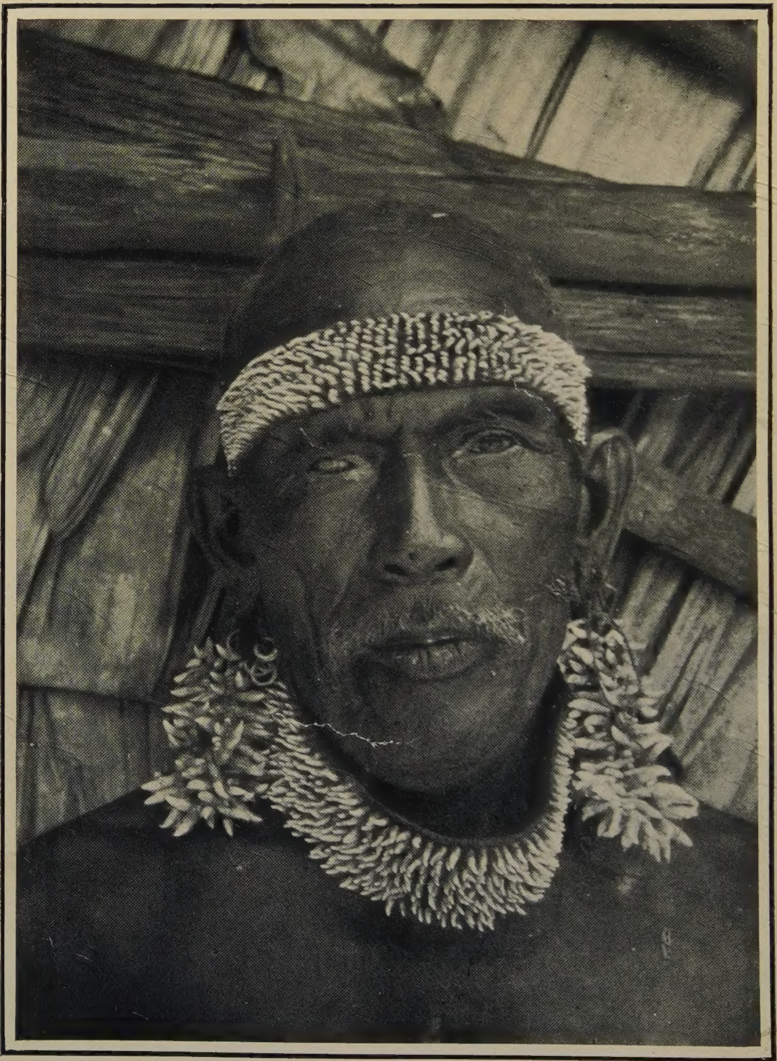

GWALI ASI OF SULU VOU

HIS ORNAMENTS ARE MADE OF PORPOISE TEETH STRUNG ON STRING. HE ONCE FIGURED IN A KIDNAPPING FRAY. LIKE MANY OF THE ELDER PEOPLE HE SUFFERS FROM AN AFFECTION OF THE EYES CAUSED BY THE SUN'S GLARE.

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THE ISLAND BUILDERS OF THE PACIFIC

HOW & WHY THE PEOPLE OF MALA CONSTRUCT THEIR ARTIFICIAL ISLANDS, THE ANTIQUITY & DOUBTFUL ORIGIN OF THE PRACTICE, WITH A DESCRIPTION OF THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION, MAGIC & RELIGION OF THEIR INHABITANTS

BY
WALTER G. IVENS
M.A., LITT.D., F.R.G.S.
RESEARCH FELLOW OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MELBOURNE, AUTHOR OF
"MELANESIANS OF THE SOUTH-EAST SOLOMON ISLANDS"
"A DICTIONARY OF THE SA'A AND ULAWA
LANGUAGES, SOLOMON ISLANDS"

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS & MAPS

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PREFACE

THE subject-matter of this book was collected on the island called North or Big Mala, in the Solomon Islands, during the months of June to October 1927 as a part of my research work for the University of Melbourne. During the research I was resident at the Christian village of Fou Ii'a, and was in close touch with the people of Sulu Vou, an artificial island in the same lagoon, and only a few hundred yards distant. Fou Ii'a is itself on the mainland, but its people come from Sulu Vou and have daily communication with their relatives on the artificial island. Sulu Vou is still Heathen, and except for changes wrought in its culture and habits by the coming of white traders and planters into the islands, and by the influence of Government control, the life of its people is but little changed from what it was fifty years ago. Some of its people have become Christian and have formed the present village at Fou Ii'a on the mainland, opposite the home of their fathers. The culture of Sulu Vou is typical of the culture of all the villages in the lagoon.

I had previously paid two visits to this part of Mala, and had stayed at the Christian village, Ngore Fou, with the Rev. A. I. Hopkins, the missionary in charge; so I was already acquainted with the conditions of life of the peoples who live on the artificial islands.

The name given in this book to the people whose culture is here presented is "Lau," a word meaning north or west, but they call themselves "Too i asi"—Sea People—because of their living on islands. The reason for my choice of this name is given below. One of my main objects in undertaking research work amongst the Lau people was to try and discover the reasons for the formation of the artificial islands in the lagoon on which they live. How far I succeeded will appear in Chapter II. Also I was desirous of studying their culture as a whole, and of gaining any further knowledge that might come to me there on the question of the patrilineal character of Mala people generally. My investigations were made entirely in the local language.

Since preparing my manuscript I have had the advantage of seeing extracts from the account given by John Renton of his seven years on Sulu Vou. Some portions of this have been incorporated in my book.

My conveyance to Fou Ii'a was due to the kindness of Dr. Hetherington, senior medical officer of the Solomon Islands Protectorate.

My field work herein was made possible by support received from the National Research Council of Australia, to which body I desire to express my thanks.

WALTER IVENS.

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AUTHOR'S NOTES

The vowels in Lau have the Italian sounds, and as a rule each vowel is sounded separately. Where a vowel is doubled and no "break" occurs the duplication denotes a long vowel. Some words have a "break" in the sound either at the beginning or in the middle. The reason for the "break" in sound is the dropping of a consonant. Its occurrence is marked by the sign '. The consonants which are dropped in Lau are "the Melanesian *g*", *h*, *k*, *l*, *n*, *s*, *t*.

The use of the diæresis over the vowel *ä*, *e.g. äu*, denotes the "Umlaut," *ä* changing to *e* in certain words when preceded and followed by *i* or *u*. The Lau people are not careful in the use of the Umlaut in these words and will change *ä* to *e* when there is no preceding *i* or *u*.

Gw is a double letter; *kw* is English *q*; *ngw* is a nasalized *m*, and *ng* a nazalised *n*, the *ng* of English "sing."

Abbreviations of books quoted :—

M.A. = R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians: Studies in their Anthropology and Folk-lore*. Clarendon Press, 1891.
T. = C. E. Fox, *The Threshold of the Pacific*. Kegan Paul, 1924.
M.S. = W. H. R. Rivers, *The History of Melanesian Society*. Cambridge, 1914.
M.S.E.S.I. = W. G. Ivens, *Melanesians of the South-East Solomon Islands*. Kegan Paul, 1927.

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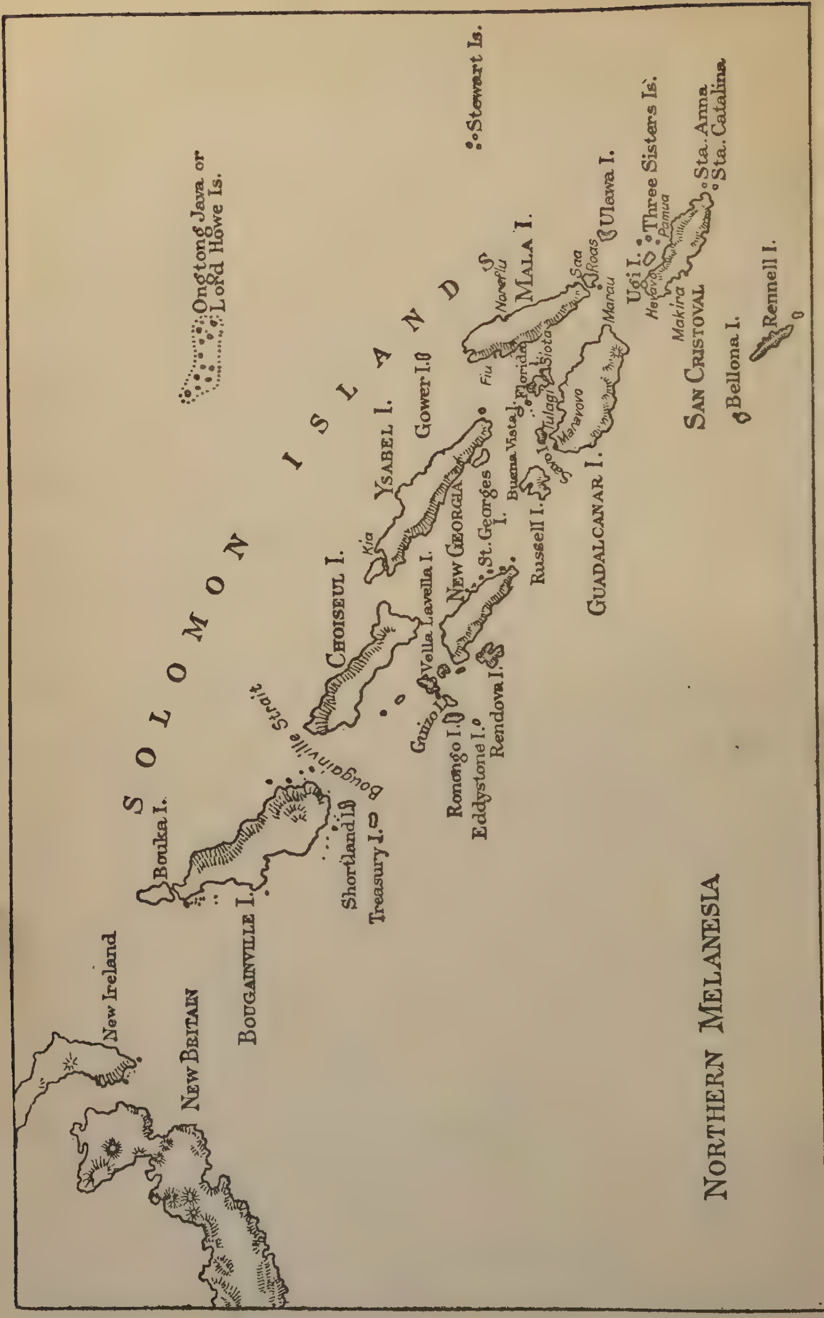


NORTHERN MELANESIA

New Ireland
New Britain
Bougainville
Bouka I.
Bougainville I.
Shortland I.
Treasury I.
Bougainville Strait
Solomon Islands
Choiseul I.
Kia
Ysabel I.
Gower I.
Vella Lavella I.
Gnizo I.
Ronongo I.
Eddystone I.
Rendova I.
New Georgia
St. Georges I.
Russell I.
Buena Vista I.
Savo I.
Florida
Tulagi
Siota
Fiu
Manavovo
Guadalcanar I.
Mala I.
Nonoflu
Saa
Roas
Marau
Ulawa I.
Ugi I.
Heuvo
Pamua
Makira
Three Sisters Is.
San Cristoval
Sta. Anna
Sta. Catalina
Bellona I.
Rennell I.
Ongtong Java or
Lord Howe Is.
Stewart Is.

CHAPTER ONE

North Mala

THE island called Mala or Malaita in the Solomon Islands is divided into two unequal parts by a strait running from east to west. The larger part of the island is known to the natives as Big Mala, the smaller as Little Mala; to the Government the two parts are known as North and South Mala. The whole island has a total length of a hundred miles with an average width of less than thirty miles. No actual census has been taken of the population of the two parts, but one is safe in estimating it at from fifty to sixty thousand, about four to five thousand of whom live on Little Mala. With the exception of the peoples of certain villages on Little Mala and of the people of the artificial islands in the lagoon on the north-east coast of Big Mala, and in the harbour known as Suu at the extreme north end, and in the lagoons at Auke and Langalanga on the north-west coast, the inhabitants of Mala live on the hills away from the coast. On the return of the Kanakas from Queensland in 1907 the Christians among them built some villages on Big Mala close to the sea in the districts of the north end.

The name Malaita as applied to the island dates from the discovery of the Solomon Islands by the Spaniards in 1568. I have dealt elsewhere (*see M.S.E.S.I.*, p. 22) with the question of the adding of the letters *ita* or *yta* by the Spaniards to what is unquestionably the native name of the whole island, and my investigations in 1927 added to the certainty of my previous conjecture, viz. that this *ita*, *yta*, represents the Bugotu word for east or south, *eta*. The native name applied by the inhabitants to the whole island is either "Mala" itself or some form of "Mala." Mala is the name used by the peoples of the whole of the north end, and of the parts as far south as Koio, with the exception of the Langalanga lagoon and Auke, where the *m* is nasalized, and the island is called Ngwala. The Areare peoples of the south end of Big Mala speak of the whole island as Mara, as do the peoples of the dividing strait. The Sa'a-speaking peoples of Little Mala call the island Mwala. The neighbouring islands in sight of Mala all use the same name for it; San Cristoval calling it Mara; Ulawa, Guadalcanal, Florida, and Ysabel calling it Mala. It is quite evident, therefore, that the Spaniards, in stating that the native name for the island was Malaita or Malayta, were acting under a misapprehension.

The part of the island which they saw first from the south end of Ysabel was the big ridge at the north end, which bears the name Morodo. If it could be proved that this ridge is named Malaita, we have the origin of the name applied by the Spaniards to the whole island. In 1927 I was approached on Mala by a native who asked me if I wanted to know why the island was called Malaita, he having heard that I was making inquiries about it. On my assenting, he stated that the name Malaita was the name of the ridge at the north end, which was in full view of us as we were speaking. Naturally this spurred me on to make further investigations. Of the rest of the people I found no one who corroborated his statement about the name of the ridge, but all maintained that it had but the one name, Morodo. How then had my informant come to make such a statement? The answer to this question is indicative of the effect upon the native mind of the speculations of white men with regard to the name. The native in question was a man who, in the past, had considerable dealings with the ships engaged in the Labour trade with Queensland and Fiji, and he talked English well. His question to me about the name Malaita could only have been dictated by his having heard white men discuss the matter, since to the mind of the people themselves there is no doubt about the name of their island. He would have heard that it was from Ysabel that the name Malaita was supposed to have originated, and knowing that the Morodo ridge was the part of the island visible from there, he had persuaded himself that its name was Malaita; having heard, doubtless, his white friends express themselves to that effect.

There is abundant evidence on Mala of the alteration of the native place-names by the captains of the Labour vessels, *e.g.* the island Ngwalulu at the north end of the lagoon on the north-east coast now bears the name Manoba in the charts; where Maanaoba, as it should be spelt, is merely the name of a village on the north-west corner of the island Ngwalulu. The names of places as written down by the Labour vessel captains, who were the first to explore these waters, found their way eventually into the Admiralty charts, and if the association by my informant of the name Malaita with the ridge Morodo be due, as I suppose, to the speculations of these same captains, it is just a matter of luck that it did not find its way into the Admiralty charts!

Mala is the only large island in the Solomons which bears the one native name, or variations of it, over the whole of its area. The other large islands have names for their various parts, *e.g.* the parts of Guadalcanal going from north to south are called, in Florida, Nggaombata, Kule Nggela Laundari, Nggela, but no one native name is applied to the whole of the island, either by its inhabitants themselves, or by the peoples of the islands which are in view of it. Here again the nomenclature of the Labour vessels has come into play, and nowadays one hears Guadalcanal spoken of everywhere as "Solomon."

Similarly, San Cristoval to-day carries the name Makira given it by the Labour trade, though Makira is but the name of a harbour on the west coast of the island. Mala, then, stands out in this respect from all the other large islands, speaking of itself by the same name in all its parts, and one cannot but think that a derivation of the name Mala, if such a thing were possible, would provide an interesting study.

Previously (*see M.S.E.S.I.*, p. 22), I had advanced the suggestion that there might possibly be a connexion between the word Mwala, the name given to the island in Little Mala, and the Sa'a, Little Mala, word *mwala*, which signifies "people." However, I was forced to leave the matter open, since I was not aware then of the presence of any such word meaning "people" in any other Mala language.

In 1927 I discovered a word *ngwala*, meaning "person," in the Lau language of North Mala. Someone in the future may possibly find elsewhere in Mala a word similar to *mwala* or *ngwala*, and denoting "person" or "people." One may claim that the conjecture made previously that "Mala" means "people" seems to have received confirmation from the Lau word *ngwala*, person; it being remembered that *m* and its nasalized forms, *mw* or *ngw*, are interchangeable in Mala.

This theory as to the meaning of the native name of the island causes one to ask whether there is anything inherent in the culture of the peoples of Mala as a whole that marks them off from others; anything that would be likely to make them characterize themselves as "the people." The answer surely is in the affirmative. The peoples of Mala are patrilineal throughout, there are no clans among them, and the unit of culture is the bilateral family. Every other large island in the south-eastern and central Solomons has clans, the descent is matrilineal, though a mixed system occurs here and there, and the family is unilateral. In whatever way these differences may have come about on Mala, whether, as I think, they are the result of invasion by strangers from overseas, who changed a supposedly existing matrilineal state of culture to a patrilineal, or whether the present peoples of Mala are the direct descendants of primitive patrilineal colonists, they are differences which are outstanding in character, and they demand explanation.

Mala is pre-eminently a land of hills, and the ridges come down steep to the water's edge. Above the Langalanga lagoon is the north-west Alite Mountain, with its two peaks, called Ro Ala Saa, the higher of which rises to 2325 feet. Inland, farther south, in the district called Koio, is Mount Kolovrat, 4275 feet, which is known to the people as Tolosi, In the neighbourhood of Fiu, on the west coast, there is a wide plateau, and the true hill country is some distance removed from the beach. Elsewhere, in both Big and Little Mala, there are but few places where, on landing, one is not faced at once with a sharp ascent. On Big Mala, up till the time of the return of the Kanakas in 1907, there were no villages on the actual coast itself, though in the lagoons there were people living on islands made of coral stones, and some of the natural islands lying off the coast, *e.g.* Aioo and the two Anutas, on the east coast, had a more or less floating population.

This lack of coastal population explains the almost complete absence of coco-nuts formerly on Big Mala, for though an odd palm might be seen here and there on a hill, the coco-nut loves the sea and will not prosper away from it. Coco-nuts have now been planted in the new coastal villages, and Fiu, with its foreshore decked with rows of palms, almost bids fair to equal the coco-nut groves of Sa'a. There is only one coco-nut plantation owned by white people on the whole of Mala, and the Government has set its face against granting any more land for plantations there. This policy seems to be dictated by the desire to use the "labour" offering on Mala for the maintenance of existing plantations elsewhere.

Taro is the principal food grown by the people of the whole of Big Mala. On the lower slopes of the hills facing the north-east lagoon the Lau peoples have a few small yam gardens, but the yams are not large in size, and do not bear abundantly, owing to the character of the soil. The hill people do not grow yams or hana (pana) at all. Flint occurs freely all over the hills, and the chopping of the bush and the clearing of it for taro gardens reveals the presence of large white rocks everywhere, which are of chalk formation. Many of these rocks, when broken, have a core of flint. The earth itself is a red clay, called *gano mela* (red earth), and its close nature makes the growing of yams a difficulty even on the lower slopes. On Little Mala sea-shell deposits occur a long way inland up on the hills, but there is nothing of this on Big Mala, so far as I know. On the whole, one would say that the Big Mala peoples have to work hard for their food, and, in the opinion of the late Mr. W. Bell, the district officer of Mala, the comparative density of the population of the north end is due to this fact.

The Lau peoples of Mala, and the peoples of all the artificial islands, not only are not eaters of human flesh, but regard the practice with abhorrence. It occurs, however, among the hill peoples, where it seems to be due to a desire for the eating of flesh as a relish with their usual diet of vegetable food. This is shown by the explanation given to me by Lau people, who described the eating of human flesh as *sii bolo*, the term used of the longing for a relish to eat with the daily meal of taro. If the weather has been rough, and fishing has not been possible, the Lau man says that he is *sii bolo*, he is tired of eating taro alone and wants fish as well. Ordinarily the coastal peoples eat fish daily as their relish, but the hill man, if he wants a relish, has either to purchase fish at the shore markets, or else he must go and catch things to eat. So it comes about that he eats what he can find in the way of crickets, grasshoppers, frogs, monitor lizards, the cuscus opossum, dogs, swamp hens, the young of the shiny starling, flying-foxes, tree-grubs, snails, wild honey. Snakes and cicadas are not eaten, these being connected in the mind of the people with ghosts.

It is customary among white people to talk about Mala as a "cannibal island." Some of the stories given below of old-time heroes, who are credited with killing and eating people as a regular practice, doubtless have a certain amount of truth in them, though one has to allow for the exaggeration which is natural in such stories. Yet it can be said with confidence that to eat human flesh was not in modern days a regular practice on Mala, and that it was associated entirely with fighting. The information given to me was that a person killed in fight would be eaten by the hill people; also, a person killed by hill men to earn blood-money might be eaten, provided he was not a shore man, there being too great a risk of retribution in the latter case. After a fight, a man who had not participated in it might even go and get the body of a victim and cook and eat it. In all these cases the moving force is said to be the desire for a relish.

The presence in the hills of pools bearing the name *gwou faafi lalamoa* (drink after eating a lalamoa), is an indication of the custom of eating those killed in homicide. The name Kwai Sulia (Cut bits off), borne by individuals to-day, is derived from a custom of the hill people in connexion with men captured in fight.

Such a man, if not mortally wounded, is bound with withes and carried away. Taro is prepared in an oven, and the victim is informed that he is to be eaten as a relish with it. Each man then cuts off flesh from the victim as he wants it, till they come to the man's vitals. Since fighting and killing were things outside the regular course of native life before the coming of white men, as will be shown later, it is evident that the practice of eating the bodies of men killed in fight, which was the only form of cannibalism in Mala, can hardly be used to justify the current idea that Mala was a "cannibal island" before its pacification.

Big Mala is the only one of the islands in the central and south-eastern portion of the Solomons which can be said to have definite divisions of its people amounting to tribes. The average white man in the Solomons will apply the word tribe to any division or set of the people, great or small, but tribe is a word to be avoided if one wishes to convey an accurate impression of the culture of any people, unless the content of the word be defined. I propose to use it in connexion with the peoples of Big Mala, taking as a definition of its meaning the minimum content given to it by Mr. W. J. Perry in a note on page 32 of Dr. Rivers' *Social Organization*, viz. a set of people who occupy the same territory and speak the same language. The divisions of the people on Mala are big enough to justify their being treated in this way. The differences of speech between them are sufficiently pronounced to warrant separate classifications of the languages spoken, and each people is more or less conscious of the differences between itself and its neighbours on points of culture, or in habits of life, or in manner of speech. The names given to the divisions are taken, in some cases, from peculiarities of speech by the people in question, *e.g.* Fata Leka, Those who say *leka*, "go"; in some cases they express physical characteristics, *e.g.* To'oa Baita, Big People; in others they refer to geographical position; Alaa, South, Lau, North. Starting then, from Cape Astrolabe, and taking the hill peoples first, the tribes are as follows (I necessarily use the Lau names in this classification, since my information was derived from Lau sources):

1. To'oa Baita, extending on the east coast from Cape Astrolabe to Kwai, a river in Suu, the harbour at the north end, and on the west coast to somewhere near Coleridge Bay. There is a further division of To'oa Baita into Bae Lelea, those who say *lea* (good). 2. Afena Kwai, on the hills above the river Kwai in Suu, and extending south along the harbour as far as Gwau Rate. 3. Lao Afa, from Gwau Rate to Gwouna Suu. 4. 'Ai Seni, from Gwouna Suu to Hahava (Sasava), a river entering the north-east lagoon opposite the channel in the reef called Urasi. The 'Ai Seni are a numerous people, and their district extends up to the crest of the Morodo ridge. There is a cross-country track up the river Hahava and across Morodo to Maana 'Ere on the west. It is possible to cross in one day. 5. Bae Guu, from Hahava to the river Ataa, which flows into Ataa Cove. The chart-spelling,

"Atta," for the name of the river and cove is derived from the Labour trade. 6. Tali Kali, from the cape called Manu, south of Ataa, to the bay called Fakana Kafo, north of Cape Arsacides. 7. At the back of the Tali Kali there is a people called Fata Leka, who extend over both sides of the island, and who have descended from the hills of the interior to Ataa on the east and Coleridge Bay on the west. 8. Kwara 'Ae, an inland people living in the neighbourhood of north-west Alite Mountain, on the ridges leading off eastward and westward, with Uru i tolo as their southern boundary. 9. Fakana Kafo, the people who live above Cape Arsacides, and whose territory extends to Uru, farther south. Kwara 'Ae and Fakana Kafo overlap in places. 10. Faataia (Faateia), from Uru to Sineranggo. There is a track from Uru to the west coast leading through the Faateia country, and a man can cross in a day. 11. Koio, from Sineranggo to Olimburi, Deep Bay. It was the Koio people who were responsible for the murder of the Government party in October 1927. Their territory includes Mount Kolovrat, Tolosi, and reaches to the west coast. It is said to be very difficult country, full of deep ravines, with many caves and hiding-places. 12. Faarea, on both sides of the island to Maana Kwai on the east coast and Suu on the west. There are two localities called Suu, Harbour, on Big Mala. The first one is the big harbour at the north end. It has no distinguishing name, but has come to be called by the whites "Suu Harbour," where the two words mean merely the same thing. This name, "Suu Harbour," has been corrupted by the natives into Suu Afa. Owing to the frequent presence of ships in this Suu, both in the time of the Labour trade and at the present day, the natives tend to call it Suu i Faka, the Suu of ships. The apostrophe addressed to it calls it *Suu i bani vote*, Suu that makes paddles, from one of the occupations of its people. The other Suu is on the west coast, near to Royalist Harbour. It does not seem to bear any distinguishing name like the northern Suu. The only coco-nut plantation on Mala lies near it, and the Sydney steamer calls there regularly. 13. Areare, occupying the rest of the island to the Mara Masike channel. The name Areare is derived from the use by the people of a word *are*, *areare*, meaning thing, or with the personal article prefixed, person. The people of the lagoons on the west coast in the neighbourhood of Uhu are also Areare. The people of Marau Sound, at the south end of Guadalcanal, are of Areare stock, having migrated from Wairokai, Wairaha, Waisisi, and Uhu more than three centuries ago.

The divisions of the shore people on the eastern coast are as follows:

1. Too i Suu, the people who live on the artificial islands in the Suu near to the north cape, along with the peoples of the islands Ro Tauba, Taraana, Tarii, inside the north-east lagoon. 2. Too i Lau, the people living on the twenty-six artificial islands from Kokoi Fou near to Ngwalulu (Maanaoba) southwards as far as Fera Subua, including the people at the village Gwou Ulu on the mainland and the seven villages on Ngwalulu. 3. I Alaa, from Ngore Fou point to Cape Manu, comprising the people of seven artificial islands. There is a close connexion linguistically and otherwise between Too i Lau and I Alaa. 4. Gula Alaa, the peoples of the natural islands Ngongosila and Uru. South of Uru there is an island called 'Ai Leli, inhabited by people from I Alaa, and at Port Adam in Little Mala there are two villages peopled by colonists from I Alaa.

On the western coast the divisions of the shore people are:

1. Auke, artificial islands near the Government station Rarasu. 2. Langalanga, ten miles south of Auke, a set of natural islands situated in a lagoon, but with sea-walls made of coral rock.

The languages of Big Mala may be said to fall into four or five main groups:

1. To'oa Baita, Afena Kwai, Lao Afa, 'Ai Seni, Bae Guu on the mainland, with Too i Suu and Too i Lau, I Alaa, and Gula Alaa on the islands, comprise a set of peoples who understand one another's speech, and whose differences of speech are not sufficient to create a complete barrier between them. 2. Tali Kali, Fata Leka, Kwara 'Ae, are closer akin to one another than they are to the languages of the first group, but Tali Kali approaches nearer to Lau than do the other two. 3. Faateia, Koio, Faarea, and Areare form a third group, more or less allied, but Areare might possibly be put in a class by itself, since it rejects *b*, *d*, *g*, *l*, *q*, and the nasalized *m* and *n*. 4. The languages spoken at Langalanga and Auke are said to be different from the languages of the hill peoples in their neighbourhood, and the Lau people say they cannot understand them.

It would seem that all the hill peoples, Areare alone excepted, have the sound *ngg* for hard *g* in certain words, *e.g.* *mamanggo* (mud), Lau *mamago*, and nasalized *b* (*mb*) and *d* (*nd*), except where these letters begin a word. To'oa Baita, Too i Suu, and 'Ai Seni use *th* for initial *s* in certain words, which *s* becomes *h* in Lau ; *e.g.* *thata* (name) Lau *hata*, Bae Guu *sata*, Gula Alaa *rata*. The " break " in sound caused by the dropping in places of certain consonants is common to all the peoples of Mala, Big and Little. It is very pronounced in Kwara 'Ae, comparatively less noticeable in To'oa Baita, and less noticeable again in Lau.

While there is this division in speech among the peoples, it is yet quite evident to me that all the languages (or dialects) of Mala are closely related, and form a group of their own with common features. A recent study of the language of Marau Sound, Guadalcanal, where the people are of Areare stock, has shown me how closely allied the language is to Sa'a, Little Mala, on the one side, and to Lau, Big Mala, on the other.

When the men, or, as happens at market, the women of two different peoples forgather, each person uses his or her own language, and the listener in each case understands. The phrase used is that they " hear " one another. I myself found that my knowledge of Lau was sufficient to enable me to understand what an 'Ai Seni visitor, or a Bae Guu man, or a Suu man, was saying, but the Kwara 'Ae speech was beyond me so far as " hearing " it was concerned, though I could understand the written speech. In many cases it is the intonation which puzzles one at first. With the native, many individual words of another's speech are known through practice, and a man, when speaking to another, will often make the necessary consonantal changes in his own words in order to agree with the practice of the other. However, in the main, each man talks his own language when speaking to a stranger, and indeed people who dwell among those of another speech seldom seem to learn that speech, but continue to use their own tongue.

Throughout the ages the various peoples of Big Mala have been living separate from one another. The fish-markets held by the shore people of the north end have necessarily brought " shore " and " hill " into regular contact, and, where boundaries meet, distinctions tend to become obliterated, and people move to and fro more readily. Marriage, again, is a further factor in reducing isolation between the peoples, but its effect is personal and partial, and such marriages only take place amongst those whose territory is adjoining, a To'oa Baita man, *e.g.*, would not take a wife from Koio. Unity on Mala could only have been effected by a central rule, with its concomitant of free movement and the possibility of easy travel by land or sea. There certainly have been big chiefs in the past, but their power was limited to their own personal adherents, members of their family groups, and no one of them ever seems to have desired to increase his power by force of arms. War, as war, was unknown, and the desire for personal aggrandisement did not lead a man to anything more than the mere amassing of shell-moneys.

When the murder of the Government party by Koio people took place in 1927, a report was sent out from Tulagi that there was a general uprising on Mala. Of course, no such thing could possibly take place. The grievances, fancied or real, which led to the outbreak, were doubtless common to all the peoples, but, with the exception of one other people, it was only amongst the Koio that violence was likely to break out in consequence. The rest of the peoples, on receipt of the news, clamoured to be allowed to join in reprisals, and all expressed their indignation at what had happened. Nor again could any concerted movement take place on Mala, owing to difficulties of communication, and also to the effects of age-long separation.

In the main, the hill peoples of Big Mala are non-sea-going and do not build canoes. An exception to this generalization must be made in the case of the Areare people, those whose country borders on the lagoons of the south-west coast and of the dividing channel called by them Su'u Roto (The blind channel), or in Lau, Suu i lao (The middle channel). The people near these lagoons build large sea-going canoes, and travel as far afield as Marau Sound, across the straits, but they are hardly a maritime people as such, and their sea-going is mainly limited to such overseas journeys.

The case is much the same with their brethren in the dividing channel, save that these make more use of small canoes for getting about amongst the passages in the mangroves. The rest of the hill peoples of Mala are distinctly "bushmen," and do not go to sea at all. The To'oa Baita people near the northern Suu used to construct rough outrigger canoes, dug-outs, and rafts for use in fishing, but they confined their sea-work to the Suu and were only fine-weather seamen. The Lau people told me that the hill people as a whole cannot swim, that they get scared when wading if the water comes up to their knees, and that they become giddy and fall down if the water reaches up to their waists. Certainly the spectacle which I saw of several hill men trying to paddle in a canoe was one calculated to make a man die of laughter.

In all their expeditions, therefore, the hill peoples must perforce travel by land, but the shore man prefers to do his journeying by sea. After the trouble in 1927, in connexion with the murder of the Government party, the people got it into their heads that they had to report to headquarters at Rarasu, the Government headquarters on Mala, and a procession of canoes went all the way round the coast from as far south as Ataa to show their detestation of the crime. The hill peoples, before the pacification of Mala by the Government, were not free to travel far afield, their passage by land would be blocked, and each people could only visit its immediate neighbours, those whom it was accustomed to visit, where there were ties of relationship or traditional friendships. In no case could an armed party force a passage through the territory belonging to another people without provoking hostilities. A big chief belonging to one people, *e.g.* 'Ai Seni, if making a feast might invite some of his fellows belonging to Bae Guu or To'oa Baita, provided there was no outstanding grievance between them at the time, and the guests would arrive carrying all their weapons, but the goodwill was generally maintained and the peace unbroken. Otherwise the passage of armed bodies of men, or of men bent on hostile errands, was not allowed.

Similarly to-day, though the making and carrying of weapons has ceased, and peace may be said to reign over the whole of Mala, the hill peoples mainly confine themselves still to movements within their own borders. The pacification of the island has not resulted in anything like free movement between the various peoples; the barriers of language are still a hindrance, the rough nature of the country and the lack of good tracks make long journeys almost impossible, and the age-long fear and suspicion of one's neighbours has not been removed by disarmament.

It is comparatively easy to distinguish between the men and women of the shore folk and those of the hills, so far as their bodily characteristics are concerned. The shore man may be said to be the lighter in colour, the skin of certain individuals among them being of a very light brown and the hair distinctly fairer. The hill men move quickly, with a bouncing, springy walk, moving from the hips, while the shore men have a slower movement, a glide, the whole body being carried along with an easy grace. The shore men are slimmer in build, and their stature is a little taller that that of the hill men. The To'oa Baita men are certainly "Big People," as their name denotes, stout and well-liking.

I heard a story of a hill man belonging to Bae Guu, who must have been an enormous person. I obtained the story from a descendant of his. The man was nicknamed "Sleep Outside" or "Cold Beu." One end of his *beu* (the men's house) had to be left open and unenclosed, in order to allow him to enter; no ordinary doorway would suffice. When on a visit to any place he would not allow his hosts to break down the walls of their *beu* so as to admit him, but slept outside. In his own *beu* no fire must be burning lest he break out into a sweat. It is cold at nights on the hills of Mala, and one imagines that "Cold Beu" did not have many visitors!

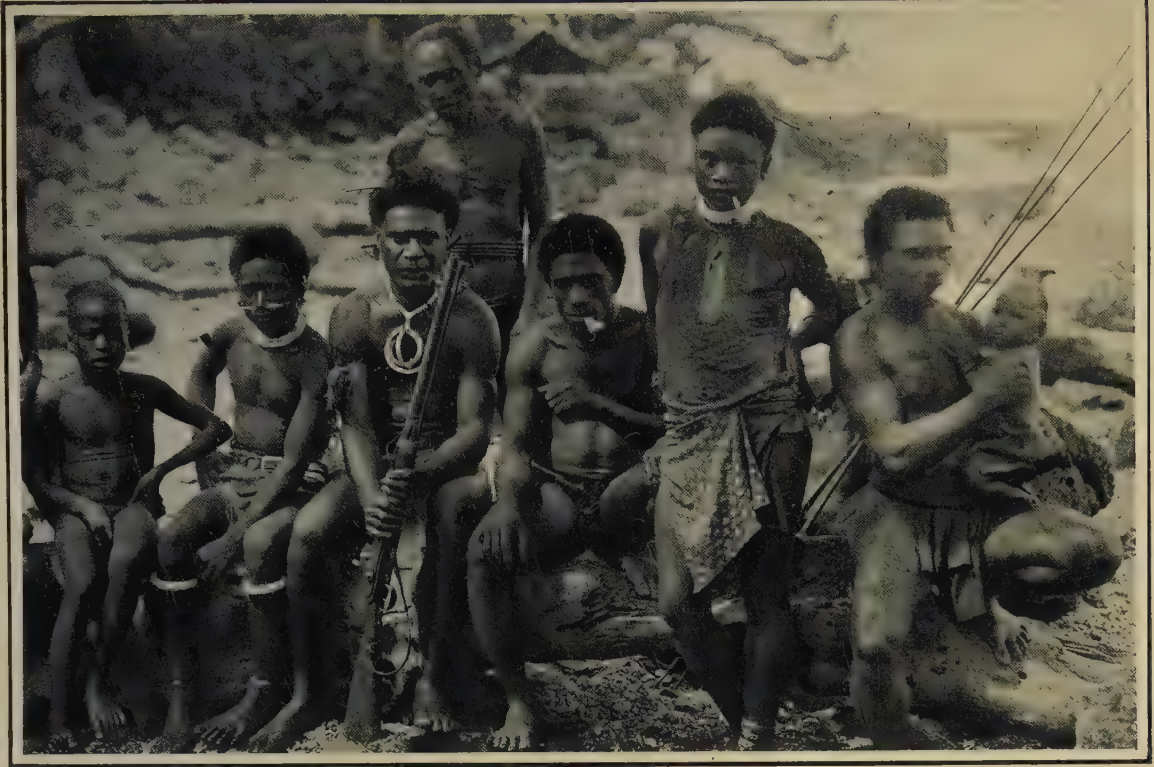
The women of both shore and hill are much shorter than the men, but the average woman of the hills is lighter built than her sister of the shore. I have seen Lau women who were so powerfully built that one could only speak of them as being enormous.

Many of the elder women amongst the Lau people suffer from affections of the eyes, and total blindness is not uncommon among them. Inflammation of the eyes, due in part to the glare of the sun on the waters of the lagoon, is frequently seen amongst the men. I had been attending a man whose eyes were much swollen and inflamed, and then heard that he had gone by canoe to Rarasu, a distance of over sixty miles by canoe, with those who went there to express their abhorrence of Mr. Bell's murder. When he came back his eyes were in a very bad state, and, in addition, like all the rest of his party, he had been on very short rations all the time. He was quite incapable of paddling and had merely occupied a seat in the canoe all the way.

Hunchbacks may be found in several of the artificial islands, and Sulu Vou has a deformed man whose left leg and arm are shrunken. His speech is affected and he is sub-normal. Nevertheless he poles himself about in a canoe, and can swim, and he manages to ferry logs from the shore to the island, swimming and pushing them along. There is a woman at Sulu Vou who has fits of madness at times; she utters piercing cries at nights. At these times she wanders about the island giving vent to cries that pierce the night. No one dares to interfere with her, she is too ready with her tongue, and her curses are dreaded.

Formerly the men of the north end of Mala wore nothing round their loins and went completely naked. Intercourse with Gao and Bugotu, Ysabel Island, in comparatively recent days, caused the introduction among the shore folk of the perineal bandage, but it was only worn by isolated individuals, and its use did not extend to the peoples of the hills. With the coming of the white man, and the recruiting for Queensland and Fiji, the use of loin-cloths became common on Mala; but again the hill man preferred to go naked, and indeed it was harder for him to get cloth than for the man on the coast. To-day the elder men both of the hills and of the coast are frequently quite naked, and if they do wear a loin-cloth, they make it into a thick fold and let the two ends hang down in front. The younger men have taken to wearing loin-cloths of imported material. The unmarried women are completely naked. At marriage they assume an apron, which is their sole covering.

The more varied occupations of the shore men as compared with their fellows of the hills, and the greater freedom of travel which they enjoy, are probably responsible for the



HILL MEN

THESE PEOPLE HAVE COME DOWN TO THE BEACH TO INTERVIEW A SHIP. ALL MALA MEN WERE ACCUSTOMED TO CARRY WEAPONS WHEREVER THEY WENT. THE HILL MEN ARE OF SHORTER STATURE THAN THE COAST MEN.

fact that of the two peoples the shore folk have shown a quicker grasp of the new conditions which have followed the permanent residence of white men among them. Possessing canoes, the shore men are able to move about and visit their neighbours and exchange ideas and experiences with them. Visitors arrive at a place from islands near by, or from somewhere on the other coast, or even from overseas. The Langalanga men come, bringing shell-moneys for barter or for exchange, new moneys for old. Every day there are expeditions to various parts of the lagoon for fishing, and fish-markets to be attended. Nets have to be made and kept in order, canoes have to be built or repaired.

If the weather is rough and fishing impossible, the men can have a change by going with the women to the foothills and working in the taro or yam gardens. The handling of canoes, the ability to travel by sea, the wonderful powers of swimming gained from a lifelong dwelling in the very sea itself, as it were, all these tend to give the men of the artificial islands a power of adaptability to the new set of conditions which have followed the advent of the white man. Their life is a life of free movement, they are masters of their conditions and know no fear of the elements. They live in fairly large communities, and there is necessarily a good deal of give and take in their lives. The children are numerous and vigorous, and, in their daily play in the water, or on the land, they pass on to one another the things concerning the white man and his ways which they may have heard from their elders.

With the hill people it is very different. Though they far outnumber the shore folk, yet there are no large villages on the hills, indeed, one may say, from our point of view, that there are really no " villages " at all, only a few houses here, and a few there, with a considerable distance between each hamlet. Travelling is difficult owing to the state of the country, and in consequence there is not the movement of the men from place to place that occurs among the shore folk. One would expect therefore that new ideas would not circulate with the same rapidity amongst the hill peoples. Again, the daily round of work in the hills never varies. The growing of taro is their only employment, and the work presses heavily at all times, save that during August, when the canarium almonds are ripe, the whole population enjoys a picnic under the trees gathering the nuts.

And yet there is no comparison between the artistic faculties of the two sets of people. The hill man produces the most beautiful effects in the decorative work done with rattan cane of various colours on the front and sides of his *beu*. He dyes cane red and uses fine strips of it, along with the yellow tissues of the climbing gleichenia fern, in plaiting reeds to serve as earsticks. The patterns of these are most perfectly done, and the designs vary considerably. The decorative hair-combs made by the hill people of Big Mala are of fine strips of black palm, bound tightly together with the thinnest of creepers, and with patterns worked on the rounded face by means of short lengths of the same red and yellow material neatly inserted between the strips of palm. The insertion is done with a bone needle, and years ago I watched a man at Deep Bay, Olimburi, finishing off a comb as he sat in my boat. The dyed material he carried inserted in a cane bracelet on his wrist, and as he used up one length he pulled out another. So neatly is the work done that it is impossible at a glance to see the ends of the lengths of cane. The ceremonial clubs, bows, and spears belonging to the War Ghosts, which are kept in the sanctuaries of the hill peoples, are all decorated with the same finely plaited work. The shore man, on the contrary, has no such skill with his fingers. He does not make the plaited earsticks and decorated combs which he sells to the white men, but gets them all by barter from the hills. His canoes are of a rough and ready make, strong indeed, and able to bear much knocking about on the coral, but very inferior in make and design to those of Ulawa and Sa'a, or even of the Areare peoples of the south-west lagoons.

His houses, even the *beu aabu*, the holiest sanctuary of all, are but flimsy affairs, and if one sees any decorative work in cane on any *beu*, it is safe to say that it is the work of some hill man, either resident in the village, or imported for the purpose. In the words of the Lau people it is a case with them of *ua na doo* (any old thing) serving their purpose. Yet for all his skill in house-building and in decoration, for all his intimate and skilled knowledge of everything in connexion with his main food, taro, it cannot be denied that the hill man is a person of slow perception compared with the shore man, and I think this slowness is manifested in the details of ordinary native life as well as in the grasp of the new conditions entailed by the presence in the islands of white men. It may be that the shore folk are more volatile and less reliable, that they do not take pains to do a thing properly, and that in the end the hill people will be found to possess the finer characters. At the present time the hill folk certainly are slow and heavy mentally as compared with the shore folk, and the phrase Tolo, Hill man, is with a Lau person the equivalent of ignorant and dull.

A young 'Ai Seni man came and asked me for quinine. When I gave him a five-grain tabloid and told him to swallow it, he protested that his mouth was too dry and it would stick in his throat. I bade him collect saliva in his mouth and then swallow the tabloid, saying that he was used to swallowing pieces of food. He asked for water with which to swallow the quinine, and I told him to go and get some from the people in the houses near by. The children of the village came to me later in the day and said : " Sir, you know the Tolo man you gave quinine to ? Well, he went to all the houses and drank water, but he put the quinine in his wallet and went off home ! " They thought it a great joke.

The people of Mala are easily discouraged from a proposed course of action which entails any departure from the accepted or the regular course of action common to all. Everyone does the same thing at all times and in all circumstances, and every man acts according to the voice of the crowd, advice and direction being freely volunteered by all those who happen to be near. It is practically impossible for a man (and no woman would ever dream of doing so) to steer an individual course, to set out to do something which is not customary. There is no individuality possible in their lives, and all actions are performed as it were in a body, everyone doing the same thing day by day and at all times. Thus, with the Lau people, one day all go fishing, the next day the greater number go to the gardens, the third day everyone goes collecting canarium nuts.

This is not to say that solitary individuals do not go off on some quest of their own, and, so long as the weather allows, the fishing must be gone on with; for no matter what the crowd may be doing, the owners of the various nets, the chiefs, never fail to provide fish for the market and for home consumption. But it is custom and convention and the existing order of things which rules the life generally, and it is only a powerful or strong-minded chief, or a recognized fighting-man, who ever does anything at all out of the common. Such an one can afford to go his own way. No one will gainsay him, but in the end things will go on just as before. It was told me by a man that his father, when purchasing a bride for one of his sons, refused to receive the customary return present of food which is furnished by the father of the bride in return for the payment of the bride-price, saying that it was the girl herself he was buying and not the food. Everyone protested that he was introducing a new custom, but he persisted in his action, though he was well aware that he was doing something quite new. This incident occurred many years ago, long before the influx of white men, and before their permanent residence in the islands had begun to set on foot a new order of things.

One has to remember that the life which these peoples live is a life lived in public, and that no one has, or is allowed to have, or wants to have, any private life or private affairs as we understand the term. An exception must be made in the case of the main chiefs, who certainly do maintain reserve as to their intentions, and keep their own counsel, and who follow their own will at times, even to the going contrary to accepted custom. But it is otherwise with the rank and file. Everyone knows what everyone else is doing, and no one is offended at being asked what he is doing, where he is going, what so-and-so said to him about this or that matter which we ourselves would regard as his own personal concern. Every matter is discussed in public, the men gathering in the *beu*, the women in the houses, and if privacy is desired, a fitting place and time has to be chosen for it. Thus it comes about nowadays that all letters received are read by any who can read, and when finished with they are left about where anyone can pick them up. I myself have found that letters which I had written were left lying in the *beu* at the mercy of all and sundry who entered.

All news is for everybody. Complaints are made at times by white employers that their native servants read letters or notes entrusted to them for delivery, or left lying about anywhere. Such a practice is reprehensible in our eyes, but a native does not distinguish between the written and the spoken word, so far as the conveyance of news is concerned; and since it is his practice to discuss in public everything that happens, he is not aware of our idea of the sacredness of letters or notes until he is told of it.

What one might characterize as indirectness in action is a well-known trait of Melanesian behaviour. Thus, a man wishing for a favour, or desiring to ask a question, will put up someone else to speak for him. Similarly, a person who is asked a direct question about something which he has done, will leave the answer to one of his fellows near by.

One who has an object for sale will hand it to another, and tell him to effect the sale. This indirectness extends to matters of life and death, and acts in a way that is contrary to our ideas of common justice. Many a man has been killed because of something which his relatives have been accused of doing. When the warship went south on her way to Sineranggo, in connexion with the murder of the Government party, the Lau people were all prepared to make a bolt into the hills for safety, and it was only my presence that saved them from rushing off. I assured them that it was not the British way to punish the innocent, but Gwaliasi said to me: "Oh, Sir, we do not think like you. If it was us, we should kill." Their anger manifests itself in an oblique fashion. Thus if a man takes another man's canoe without permission, the owner will smash it up when it is returned. One who is angry with his wife for not preparing the particular food he wants, will revenge himself by breaking up the food bowls of the house. If a man takes another's fishing-line, the owner, when he finds it out, will smash up his own fishing-rod.

Similarly, their grief may be shown in a fashion which, to us, appears to be extravagant and wasteful. At Fou Ii'a I noticed that a long heavy wooden mortar, the sort used for pounding taro for feasts, had a big hole chopped in its base, which rendered it useless. Such mortars are difficult to make, and are much prized. It was told me that a chief, out of grief for his son who had died, had chopped the hole in this particular mortar which had been made originally for a feast given in that son's honour. The chopping was not done in order to prevent anyone else using it, but was the way in which the father's grief found expression. In old days he would have had a man killed, some perfectly innocent person or other.

There is no salutation used to a man on his arrival, nor does the visitor himself use any form of salutation when he comes. A person in authority, on being spoken to in Lau, is always addressed as Aarai (Sir!) and they speak of their elders and chiefs as *a Aarai a doo* (Master So-and-so). However, there are regular phrases used in farewell, and the people, even the children, are most punctilious in their use of them. The use of the phrases is common both to the Lau and also to the Tolo peoples. The phrases are two in number, and either one may be used, the answer in each case following the form of the first part: *'O totoo vasi 'amu'a* (Stay thou here then!), to which the answer is, *'O lelea vasi 'amu'a* (Go thy way then!). *'Oe 'o lelea lau* (As for thee, be thou going once more!). To which the answer is, *'Oe 'o totoo lau* (As for thee, be thou staying on still!).

In each case the farewell spoken and answered is accompanied by a wave of the hand. Though no salutation is made by a man on arrival, this is not to say that he comes without any announcement of any sort, for his arrival is always notified by a cough on his part. This is in order to let people know that someone is about. One's cook-boy, *e.g.*, coughs every time he comes near, and a man who comes and seats himself on the veranda of the house always notifies his presence by coughing. Attention may also be called by a hiss or by a light touch on the arm. Assent to a question is indicated by a lifting of the eyebrows, accompanied in the case of children with a smile. Lau is the only Melanesian language known to me in which there is a word for smile, *mui*, as distinct from the word for laugh. Dissent is shown by a sucking of the teeth and a toss of the head from side to side.

Stammering occurs fairly frequently amongst both the Lau and the Tolo peoples of North Mala. The word used in Lau is *faka 'ato* (difficult utterance). It seemed to me that stammering ran in certain families; thus, two brothers would stammer, or a father and his children, and people closely related, "brothers" in a classificatory sense, would stammer. A feature of pronunciation connected with the use of the letter *l* seems to bear some relation to stammering. In Lau it is quite common to hear the word *lea* (go), pronounced *le-le-le-le-lea* to indicate a continuance of motion. This seems to be done quite apart from any mere reduplication, the usual way of expressing continuance or repetition. On my return to Mala in 1927 I was furnished with a most excellent man to look after me. He was diligent, careful, trustworthy, capable and courteous, excellent in every way, but alas ! he stammered, and I had thought that intercourse with him would improve my knowledge of Lau !

The Mala man, when standing in a typical posture, throws the left leg forward, and lets the arms drop at the side. To fold the arms is everywhere indicative of being cold, and of an incipient feeling of malaria. If asked : " How does the white man stand ? " the arms will be held akimbo.

The people are persistent in begging from the white man who lives among them. The chiefs, however, never came to see me without bringing me a present : a yam, some taro, a trinket, and constantly sent me a fish from the catch. It is, of course, the proper etiquette to return present for present. The rank and file of the people are ready to ask for anything and everything one has. The arrival of one's few stores was watched and the articles noticed, and following this would come a request for rice or biscuits, or, more particularly, trade tobacco. It was never safe to go visiting, for one's arm would be twitched and a request would follow : " Tabak ? "

Fire is produced by the ordinary fire-plough, stick-and-groove, method. But formerly nodules of iron pyrites were used with flint flakes to produce sparks for fire-making. Iron pyrites occurs everywhere in the hills, being found in the river valleys. The name given to it in Lau is *fou ere* (fire-making stone). The making of fire by means of flint and iron pyrites is said to have been a customary thing before the advent of white men. This fou ere of Lau is the wari i hau of the Areare people, the round nodule of iron pyrites which forms the top of the short ceremonial club, with inlaid shell handle, which is worn suspended from the neck, between the shoulders, by men when going to claim the payment of blood-money.

This latter piece of information I obtained from Marau Sound. Previously I had written that the wari i hau was used to give the final death-blow to a wounded enemy, but the Marau people denied this, stating that the use of the club was purely ceremonial and connected with the paying of blood-money. It was at Marau Sound that the Spaniards in 1568 obtained the first specimen of wari i hau, whose yellow top of iron pyrites eventually caused these islands to bear their present name, Solomon Islands.

North Mala has its traditions of a primitive folk who were ignorant of any process of fire-making and who ate their food raw. The fabled Gosile of the hill-country at the head of the river Hahava are said to have eaten their food raw for this reason. The origin of the fire-plough is said to have been due to someone having noticed two branches of a tree in a burial-place in the hills rubbing against one another. The dust dropped and smouldered. Men copied it and the fire-plough resulted.

In the Solomons living in tree-houses has been associated hitherto with the peoples of Ysabel Island only, but there are plenty of reliable stories of such tree-houses having existed in the past on the hills of North Mala. It is probable, however, that their existence did not continue, as in Ysabel, till the coming of white people into the islands. Such houses are said to have been built on banyans and canarium almonds, trees with wide-spreading branches and plenty of cover. The canarium is an ideal tree for such a purpose, the distance of the branches from the ground making it impossible for an enemy to climb up, or for accurate shooting with arrows from below.

The building of such tree-houses was undertaken as a means of security during a state of war, or when people accused of witchcraft, and liable, therefore, to be killed, wished to protect themselves against sudden raids. Access to the trees was gained by means of ladders made of strong creepers; food and ammunition, spears, arrows, stones, etc., were carried up into them, and the besiegers set themselves to starve out the tree-dwellers. When the ammunition of the besieged was exhausted, the besiegers proceeded to cut the tree down, in which case all the tree-dwellers would perish in the fall. In an immigration story a certain man named Fai Lau, an immigrant from overseas, who came to Mala and went up into the hills of the present Fata Leka country, is said to have found the aborigines living in the tree-tops.

The influence exercised upon the life of the natives by the advent of white men and by their sojourn in the islands falls naturally into two periods: the influence of the Labour trade; the influence of stricter Government control and of the development of local plantations, etc., since the return of the Kanakas in 1907.

The first ships to visit North Mala regularly were the Labour vessels from Queensland, Fiji, Samoa, and Noumea. For the space of some thirty years Labour vessels came regularly to Mala from the first two of these places, and thousands of men went away on a three years' indenture system. No record has been published as to the number of those who died abroad, but one is safe in estimating it as half of the total number of recruits.

I have not heard of the introduction of any disease of an epidemic nature, such as dysentery, or of influenza during the first period, but the population was diminished through the number of those who died abroad, and through the extension of the first term of indenture to a second or even a third term of years. This meant that the marriage of the young men was delayed beyond the normal time, and when at length a man returned home, some considerable time necessarily elapsed before the marriage negotiations could be completed. If he brought home English money or trade articles as his pay, these could not form part of the bride-price, even if he was allowed to retain them; and it was necessary for him to collect or to get his friends to collect the money of the country for the bride-price. Thus it came about that many a "return" had to go unmarried, or else he got himself and his friends into trouble by "stealing" a woman for his wife. In the case of men who stayed ten years or more away, as many of them did, they had to put up on their return with whatever they could get in the way of a wife. Consequently the same number of children were not born as heretofore.

A second cause of depopulation due to the Labour trade was the introduction of firearms. At the outset men were bought openly for rifles. The Samoa and Noumea ships were the worst offenders in this respect, for they paid a couple of rifles down, and the returned man brought home as many as he could buy abroad. The Queensland and Fiji Governments legislated in the matter, and it was made illegal to trade in firearms, but right up till the suppression of the trade smuggling of weapons was rife, and arms and cartridges continued to find their way in. As an instance of the number of rifles in North Mala, 1070 rifles were surrendered in 1927 in one district alone of North Mala.

In the chapter on "War" I shall deal with the effect on native life of the introduction of firearms. It is sufficient to say, in this place, that the possession of rifles set up a state of war and lawlessness among a community that hitherto had been more or less at peace, and that whereas homicide had been confined before mainly to the killing of those accused of black magic or of adultery, or had followed the infraction of some tabu or the wounding of some man's pride, men now killed either for the sake of killing or in order to get for themselves some desirable object owned by another. Big Mala, through the introduction of firearms, became a place of high-handed dealing by sets of bravoes, a place where fighting-parties made life insupportable to the ordinary peaceably disposed individual. It was the ambition of every young Mala man to own a rifle, and there were very few among them whose ambition in this respect was not gratified. Less blame attaches to Fiji in respect of the importation of firearms into Mala. Much stricter supervision was exercised over the Fiji ships engaged in the Labour trade, and the influence of Fiji upon the Mala men was far better than the influence of Queensland. In Fiji the Mala men learned the native language and thus fitted better into their new conditions. They did not become mere copies of white men, but retained their native characteristics. At one time, during the earlier years of the Protectorate, when labourers were returning in large numbers to the Solomons, it would have been quite possible to have set up Fijian as the language of government in the Protectorate. Mr. Woodford, the first commissioner, did indeed consider the matter, being himself acquainted with Fijian, but no action was taken. One wishes that the step had been taken; nothing but good could have come of it.

During the period of the Labour trade, dynamite, for the ostensible purpose of shooting fish, was obtained either from visiting ships, or was bought in Queensland and smuggled into the islands. Many a man lost his limbs through the use of it, and others lost their lives. But the blood-lust which owed its origin to the introduction of firearms found dynamite a suitable instrument for the exercise of malice and wickedness. The hill people of a certain district bought a dynamite cap and fuse from the shore folk in order to destroy human lives, and to gratify their murderous passions. They chose a feast-time when a great number of people were at work in the *beu* cooking the food for the feast. The fuse was shortened, and cap and fuse were placed in the cooking-oven below the hot stones, where the heat would light the fuse. The dynamite exploded and all those in the *beu* were killed.

In the hill district the *beu* is used as the general sleepingplace for the men and boys, and one heard of a case where kerosene was bought from the shore folk, and emptied over a *beu* at night, and then the *beu* was set alight, with the result that all inside it, forty men and forty children, were burned to death. Forty is, of course, a round number, and though one questions the figures, yet the incident really happened. A reign of murder followed the coming of the white man, men's evil passions were aroused, killing was made easy, and no man's life was safe.

A Government station was set up on Mala in the year 1909, with Mr. T. Edge Partington as district officer. He had only a whale-boat to get about in, but he soon made his presence felt, and a reign of law began to replace the existing reign of lawlessness and terror. With the return of the Kanakas in 1907 the smuggling of arms and ammunition came to an end. Mr. Bell, during his ten years as district officer, was able to restrain the murderous instincts of several notorious "killers," and received monetary pledges from them as a guarantee of their keeping the peace. The reckless waste of human life was over on Mala, but the island had suffered from a thirty years' war as a result of the coming of the white man, and if the population was to be brought up to anything like its former level there was need now for the exercise of legislation of a very paternal character.

The cessation of the Labour trade was accompanied by a corresponding increase in the number of the local coco-nut plantations. Men were recruited for a term of two years, and the pay was double that which had been given before. The islands began to be fairly combed out for labourers, ships and white men were to be seen everywhere. Dysentery and influenza made their appearance, and epidemics of them took their toll of villages, districts, and plantations. Even colds, in later days, tended to become epidemic, and were accompanied by a high fever, with consequent mortality. In addition the laws permit the extension of the two years' indenture to four or even six years, and one heard of cases where men had been away eight years from their homes. This is to reproduce one of the worst features of the Labour trade. Marriages are postponed, the ordinary age of marriage is passed by, and a dislocation occurs in the life of the community. Young men of the Lau folk, the possessors of sailing-boats, when pressed by their fathers to settle down and marry, reply: "Not yet awhile. We like travelling about." Many of them, indeed, spend their time sailing about the lagoons selling things for traders, or going over to Tulagi in companies to earn money by working on the cargo steamers, and affording no help to their elders either in gardening or fishing. These are, of course, extreme cases, but they are indicative of the new conditions now obtaining; but the postponement of marriage, due to whatever cause, is entirely subversive of native life, and in the end means a further restriction on the growth of population.

Mr. N. C. Deck, of the South Sea Evangelical Mission on Mala, called my attention to the fact that of late years the bride-price has been raised among the hill people in North Mala. Inquiries on my part showed that the same thing is happening also on the coast. Mr. Deck stated that there are many men now amongst the Kwara 'Ae people who have perforce to remain unmarried in consequence of the rise in the bride-price. The reason assigned by the people for this rise is that there is much more shell-money about now; the people of Langalanga, the mint of the district, are producing the money in much greater quantities than before, and are themselves distributing it in a much greater degree than was possible before. Formerly their centres of distribution were fewer in number owing to the disturbed state of the islands; but with the general pacification, consequent on more vigorous governmental control, the Langalanga men now travel up and down the whole coast of Mala, and in 1927 I met them in Marau Sound, Guadalcanal. If men among the Kwara 'Ae cannot afford to get married because of the rise in the bride-price, it is quite certain that the Lau men will be affected in the same way also.

Up till 1927 no attempt was made by the Government to institute a medical oversight of the natives in their islands. The ravages of hookworm were unchecked, yaws claimed victims everywhere among the children, or left ulcers and sores behind them which either completely crippled the sufferers or left them with a much impaired vitality. In the new villages on North Mala, which sprang up on the coast after the return of the Kanakas, everyone suffered, either from malaria or from ulcers, and their cemeteries are literally full of children. House-flies have become a pest in the villages, and they swarm over everything, carrying infection from sores and ulcers. These house-flies are not native to the islands, but have come in on ships. The testimony of the elders is positive in this matter, and one remembers a time when the house-fly was unknown.

CHAPTER TWO

The Artificial Islands of the North-East Lagoon

ON the northern coast of Big Mala there is a coral reef extending for over twenty miles from Cape Manu, a little south of Ataa Cove, to the natural island called Ngwalulu, which lies east of " Suu Harbour." Inside this reef there are thirty-three islands of varying sizes which have been built by the hand of man. Owing to the fact of their artificial construction the islands have received the name " Artificial Islands." The people who inhabit them call themselves Too i asi (Sea people), in contradistinction to the people of the hills, whom they call Too i tolo (Hill people). Their island homes they speak of as Fera daudau i asi (Land stationary in the sea), or Fera i asi gi (Villages in the sea), or Fera komukomua gi (Circular villages). A further name, Lau, I lau, is applied both to the islands and also to the language spoken by the people. This word *Lau* denotes " northward," and is the same as the *lau* of Fiji. The primary meaning of the word is " seaward," Malay *laut*.

I first of all heard it used of the islands of the north-east lagoon of Mala by the peoples of the two islands in Port Adam, Little Mala, who are migrants from Ataa Cove. The name Lau is applied by them to their own language, which, to all intents and purposes, is the same as the language of the islands in the north-east lagoon. Also, they speak of going *i lau*, northward, when paying visits to the artificial islands. Actually, the island dwellers call themselves Asi (Sea), or Too i asi (People of the sea). It is better, however, to keep to the name Lau, since there is no one name applied to the lagoon, and the dwellers on the other artificial islands at Suu, Auke, and Langalanga also use the words

Asi of themselves and Tolo of the hill peoples in their neighbourhood. I found that the Sulu Vou people spoke of other artificial islands to the north of them as Lau, and Fuaga farther south used the same term of Sulu Vou and its neighbours.

The names of the Lau-speaking artificial islands in the lagoon, proceeding from south to north are: 1. Tali too, 2. Sure'ina, 3. Faarere, 4. Lalalo, 5. Fuaga, 6. Ukauka, 7. Dadangi talau, 8. Fera subua, 9. Fuaga, 10. Fou ii'a tekwa, 11. Fera booa, 12. Alite i fafo, 13. Saua, 14. Liulana asi, 15. Arego, 16. Asi mae, 17. Raua, 18. Sulu Vou, 19. Fou buli, 20. Fou bebe, 21. Ada Gege, 22. Fafo osia, 23. Sikaiana, 24. Fou bebe, 25. Funaa Vou, 26. Fou 'eda, 27. Maana afe, 28. Aurii, 29. Alexander, 30. Kwalu'ai, 31. Takwai asi, 32. Aabu, 33. Kokoi fou. It will be noticed that numbers 5 and 9, and numbers 20 and 24 bear the same name. Number 23, Sikaiana, is named after the Polynesian island Sikaiana, north of Ulawa, some men of that island having drifted in a canoe to the lagoon. Number 29 is called locally Ala Sadi, but there seems no doubt that it was named after some place named "Alexander," in Queensland.

Numbers 1 to 7 are south of Ngore fou, the cape immediately north of Ataa Cove. Opposite Sure'ina on the mainland there is a Lau-speaking village called Asi ni ngwane, and another, Ngoraa, lies opposite Fuaga. On the hill above Ngore fou there is a Christian village whose people belong mainly to Fera subua, which lies a little north of the cape; and a second Christian village, Fou Ii'a, inhabited by people from Sulu Vou, is situated on the coast between Sulu Vou and Ada Gege. These two Christian villages are of modern-day construction, but Asi ni ngwane is older than any of the artificial islands in the lagoon. The islands fall into three groups: (1) Tali too to Dadangi talau; (2) Fera subua to Fafo osia; (3) Sikaiana to Kokoi fou.

All of the thirty-three islands have a native population except number 20, Fou Bebe, which is leased to a white trader, who has a store there. The largest island in actual size is perhaps Funaa Vou, but Sulu Vou has the greatest number of inhabitants. Mr. W. Bell ran a line by sea round Sulu Vou for me, and the island measured 290 yards in circumference. Its estimated population is about three hundred. Mr. Bell stated that, in his opinion, the total number of the Lau-speaking people (including perhaps Ro Tauba, Taraana, Tarii, three islands built on the reef itself between Ngwalulu island and the mainland, and belonging to Suu) was from five to six thousand.

There is no one native name given to the outlying reef which encloses the lagoon, but the sections opposite the various islands all have their names, and these names change every few hundred yards. The reef off Auke has a distinguishing name, being called Nuu. The north-east reef is dry at low spring-tides, and people can walk about on it, but even in the calmest weather the surf roars against it on its seaward side, and no canoe can cross it. This reef is spoken of generally as I fafo ile (Overhanging the precipice), a reference to the steep nature of its seaward side. At low spring-tides it is possible to walk about on the floor of the lagoon, with the water coming up only to the ankles. On the side near to the reef there are deep stretches of water which never go dry. Canoe travelling in the lagoon is conditioned by the state of the tide. Small cutters and launches may enter the lagoon at the north end and go out again through the passage in the reef opposite Liulana asi, or may proceed equally in the opposite direction.

There are many rivers which descend from the high hills above, and discharge their waters into the lagoon. The lower reaches of the rivers are tidal, and mangroves line each bank. Opposite ten of the largest of these rivers there are passages in the off-lying reef, some of them of sufficient depth to admit vessels drawing ten or twelve feet of water. These passages are called tafali (ingress, egress). The rivers and the corresponding passages from south to north are respectively as follows: 1. Manu (Manu), 2. Ataa (Ataa), 3. Fou foo (Fou foo), 4. Gwouna suu (Kwarada), 5. Maana beu (Olo'ata), 6. Uri tao (Tae), 7. Hahava (Urasi), 8. Takwea (Makwanu), 9. Gwouna suu (Kwairada), 10. Takwa (Lau alo).

The artificial islands, with the exception of Liulana asi, all stand fairly near to the coast of the mainland, and it is possible to wade out to them at low spring-tides. Ada Gege is only a hundred yards or so distant from the shore and stands up high and dry at low water. Sulu Vou is about seven hundred yards out, and on its west side the water dries up to within a hundred yards of the island, but the remaining portion is two fathoms deep at low water. Women and children returning at low tide from Fou Ii'a to Sulu Vou, if no canoes are available, have to swim the last part of the way.

Liulana asi (In the way of the sea) is built out in the tide-way, as its name denotes. It was built in modern times by a Saua man on the spot where his son was taken by a shark. He wished to keep the son in remembrance, and built a home for himself on the spot. Others of the islands bear names which refer to their position: Ada Gege (Looking sideways), the island being built looking away from the canoe passage between it and the mainland, and the people having to turn their heads to see passing canoes, Maana afe (Facing the tide), Asi mae (Quiet water), etc. As will be seen later on, Sulu Vou (Wall of rock) was the first of the Lau islands to be built right in the sea without a natural rock, as at Funaa Vou, to serve as a starting-point. This fact probably explains its name. It was a veritable wall of rock against the tide. Other islands bear the names of spots opposite them on the mainland, Alite i fafo (Opposite the alite tree). One island, Fou buli, was built originally to house the pigs of a Sulu Vou chief, and Ada Gege began its life as a maternity home. Tali too, the southernmost island, was evidently the pride of its builders, since its name means "One and only."

On Ngwalulu island there are four existing villages inhabited by Lau-speaking peoples: Maana oba on the north-west end, Kwaila aabu on the north coast, Ole on the south, Fera faalu (New town) on the east. On the south coast there is a village site called Ngwalo, now deserted. It was from Ngwalo that Leo came, who was the original founder and builder of Sulu Vou. There are four other Lau villages on Ngwalulu built in the lagoon away from the shore, with natural coral rocks serving as a base for the building operations. Their names are Fera ta'a, Buma, Torokou, Alasi 'ona.

The islands are all built up to a height sufficient to keep out high spring-tides, and the only danger of flooding is in December and January, when the very high tides which then occur may be banked up in the lagoons by a strong north-east wind. At such times it is not uncommon for the water to come into the houses, but this is part of the life, and nobody minds. Various trees are planted on the islands in order to bind the loose coral stones together; these are littoral trees and thrive well enough on the islands to serve the purpose for which they were planted. One tree in particular, *alu*, is seen on every island.

Ada Gege has a very fine specimen of the " lettuce tree," called locally *hava*, the leaves of which are cooked with pork or turtle. This particular tree sprang from a drift log. The bright yellow leaves of the lettuce tree serve as a mark of landing-places all through the Solomons. The larger islands have a barringtonia marking the site of the beu aabu (the holy house). These barringtonia trees grow either from seed or slips, and are associated everywhere with the performance of religious rites. Even the very smallest of the islands has a coco-nut tree growing on it. The growth of trees on the islands is not equal to that of similar trees on the mainland; but each tree serves its purpose, the alu yielding shade, the coco-nut bearing fruit, the barringtonia preserving the religious associations, and, at least on that side of it which lies outside the fence of the burial-ground, serving to break the heat of the noonday sun for the younger boys of the island.

There are coco-nut trees now on Sulu Vou which were planted by Marukua, the son of the founder. Also a coco-nut is pointed out as having been planted on his arrival by Jack Renton, the English sailor who lived for several years on Sulu Vou. Many coco-nuts were destroyed by the fire which swept Sulu Vou in 1912. To anyone travelling in a ship outside the reef, the trees of the artificial islands seem to spring out of the very sea itself. The rock walls of the islands cannot be seen from far, the houses cluster together and form a dark mass, but clear up into the air spring the coco-nuts, or the barringtonia, or the alite trees. The trees on Liulana asi look, at a distance, like a schooner's sails—jib, foresail, mainsail, and the dark mass of the island underneath set in the blue waters of the fairway conveys the appearance of a ship making out to sea.

The Admiralty charts of a few years ago had the name "Fortified islands" attached to the artificial islands, and this name had more or less of a vogue amongst the white people who visited Mala. The name does not appear on the latest Admiralty charts. The fortifications noted were of modern date, and the first form of them consisted of barbed wire supplied by the Queensland Labour ships to Qaisulia of Ada Gege. Sulu Vou, Fera subua, and Sure'ina had fortifications of stout logs set upright against the rock walls of the islands. This practice of erecting a palisade as protection against enemies hails from the hills, where a beleaguered village would erect a double ring of stout trunks of trees, with loopholes for archers, and with a trench outside the whole. In recent years the Christians of Ngore fou erected such a stockade round their village. To-day at Sulu Vou there are a few logs of the stockade left, which are now used to dry nets on.

It is time now to turn to the reason for the actual building of the artificial islands. Two theories have been put forward in the past, but neither of them stands the test of native tradition, and they both bear the mark of white men's interpretation of the local conditions which they found obtaining. The two theories are as follows: (1) that the islands were built as a place of refuge from attacks by the hill people; (2) that they were built to escape from the mosquitoes and sandflies of the foreshore. With regard to the first theory, the peoples of the islands, previous to the importation of firearms, lived in a state of comparative peace with their neighbours of the hills.

The old-time causes of fighting and homicide were clear and distinct enough, which were these: witchcraft, adultery, cursing, the theft of women or of shell-moneys. These things were of sporadic occurrence, and each case was separate and local. The offender, or one of his people, would be killed, and with that the matter would cease. There was no state of war existing between the two peoples, and no wholesale killing such as took place when firearms were introduced. With regard to the first two of the ancient causes of fighting, witchcraft and adultery, persons judged guilty of them were handed over for punishment, or at least the killing of them provoked no reprisals. A man on Fera booa had been found guilty of witchcraft by the method of divination called uunu. His accusers were hill men, who waded out to Fera booa at low tide to claim him as a victim. The people of Fera booa offered no resistance, the uunu test being accepted, and the man was given up.

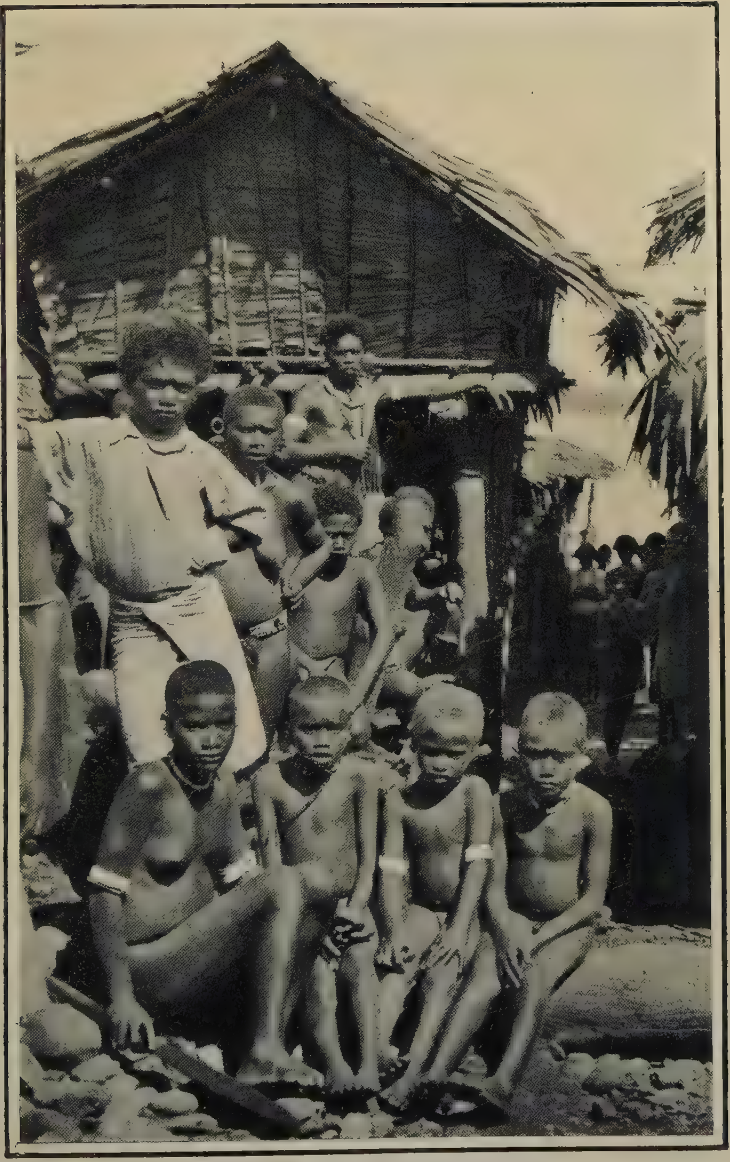
So far as I know, there was never any attempt on the part of any of the hill people to attack an artificial island till modern days, when some of them were hired by the Funaa Vou people to attack Sure'ina in connexion with a local quarrel among the shore folk. It was at this time that Sure'ina erected its palisade of logs.

With regard to the second theory, viz. the desire of people to get away from the pests of the foreshore, those who first propounded it were doubtless well aware that the foreshore everywhere was uninhabited, and that the presence of mangroves made habitation there almost an impossibility, while the islands were free from the insect pests mentioned. They argued from this that the one-time shore dwellers in the neighbourhood had built the islands to escape sandflies and mosquitoes. The people themselves have no tradition of fleeing from enemies of any sort, human or otherwise, and of taking up their present location for safety's sake.

One of the main objects of my research work in 1927 was to ascertain what led to the building of the islands, how long they had been built, and where the builders had come from. In making the search there was a factor in the daily lives of the Lau people, which clearly had to be put into a very prominent place. I refer to the fish-markets which are held on stated days at fixed places. If evidence could be produced that the fisher-folk built an island with a view to the markets in the neighbourhood, we have a fact of first-rate importance for the elucidation of the problem. In itself the problem is not confined to the islands inhabited by the Lau people, for Suu has its artificial islands, as have Auke and Langalanga, and in each of these other places the fish-markets are as important a part of the daily life as they are in the north-east lagoon. My actual investigations as to the foundation of the islands were made in the first case with the Sulu Vou people. Afterwards I had the good fortune to obtain very important evidence from Irobaoa, the chief of Suu, who came several times to see me at Fou Ii'a. The language he spoke, Suu, was, in effect, that of the To'oa Baita people, but was near enough to Lau to enable me to understand. Irobaoa it was who gave me the "generations," both of his own family, and also of the chiefs of Funaa Vou. In addition he corrected the generations of the Sulu Vou chiefs, being himself closely related to them. His information, he said, was derived from his father Sinelia, who had taken care to instruct his son in all these matters. I found Irobaoa of Suu easily one of the most intelligent natives I have met, and he was particularly careful to see that I understood him correctly.

At the back of the village of Fou Ii'a, where I was living, there was a grove of forest trees on a point running into the lagoon. The village clearing ran up to this grove and then ceased, and the big trees stopped the circulation of air and obscured the sight of the Morodo ridge beyond. Standing so thick and tall, they seemed to hold some menace to the village. "Why had they not been cleared away?" I asked. "'O'ona's shrine is there among the trees," was the answer. That was where his village had been, and the stones surrounding the one-time village, and the big flint rocks that marked the sites of his two altars were still to be seen. At those two altars 'O'ona and his descendants had sacrificed and prayed to their ancestral sharks, and had consigned many a man to a cruel death at the mouths of ancestors who were incarnate in sharks.

On the Christian occupation of the promontory, Fou Ii'a, the Heathen had ceased to sacrifice and pray at 'O'ona's two altars, but the dread of them had prevented the destruction of the surrounding trees. No one had actually lived in the grove for a very long time, and the forest had been allowed to grow up to its present dimensions, but worship of the sharks went on there right up till the Christians settled on the foreshore near by. Who, then, was 'O'ona? Was he a man of the shore folk? No, he was a Tolo man who lived at this place, Manu eu, and worshipped sharks. That he was not a hill man (Tolo), in the modern-day use of the word, a person who is ignorant of the making and using of canoes, is evident by the statement that he went fishing in the lagoon in canoes of his own making. In fact, he is associated in legend with the discovery of the use of the putty nut to caulk the seams of canoes, mud having been used previously. When he went fishing, he took his money-bags with him to prevent them being stolen in his



PEOPLE OF AN ARTIFICIAL ISLAND

THE WOMEN MUST KEEP TO THEIR OWN SIDE OF THE ISLAND, BUT THE MEN GO WHERE THEY PLEASE. THE HEADS OF THE WOMEN AND CHILDREN ARE OFTEN SHAVEN.

absence. The bags were heavy, for 'O'ona was a rich man.

On the site of the present Sulu Vou he built a suka, an erection of loose coral stones gathered from the bed of the lagoon, and when it was high enough above the tide he thrust a stick down between the stones and hung his money-bags thereon. Out there in the open he could see if any man approached to steal them. The stick he used was a branch of the big barringtonia which overhung his landing-place at Manu eu, and guarded the approach to the cave where his shark ancestors brought their victims alive at his bidding. The stick grew, and is now the barringtonia which mounts guard over the beu aabu (the holy house) and the bae (the cemetery) of Sulu Vou. The word *'ona*, *'o'ona*, means to squat on the haunches, native fashion, and it was said to me, with a nervous laugh, that 'O'ona may have been named thus owing to his fondness for squatting on his haunches.

All the accounts state that the founder of Sulu Vou was a man named Leo, who, with his four sons, came at 'O'ona's request and began to build the island, working from the suka and its stick as his base. The reason assigned for the invitation was that Leo might be near his market, that 'O'ona's desire for a relish to eat with his taro might be satisfied. 'O'ona was evidently not a fisherman by trade, and he recognized the value of having a skilled man near to provide him with fish. At the time of the request Leo was said to be living at Funaa Vou, an artificial island a few miles north of Manu eu. The founding of Funaa Vou must therefore have preceded that of Sulu Vou. Irobaoa said this was actually the case, and the "generations" of Talo, the main chief of Funaa Vou, proves it to be so; for whereas Angasi kao, the present head-chief of Sulu Vou, is fifth in descent from Leo, Talo, his contemporary, is the sixth in descent from Odu, the founder of Funaa Vou. This throws our inquiry back a further stage, and we shall have to consider later the circumstances connected with the founding of Funaa Vou. At present it remains that Leo, at 'O'ona's request, began to build Sulu Vou, the Rock Wall that was to keep the tide out, and provide him and his with a home and a base near his market. From what Irobaoa told me, Leo had been working with the Funaa Vou people, who had already been established there for a generation, and he had travelled as far south as Manu eu bartering his fish. His own home was not, however, at Funaa Vou, but at Ngwalo on the south coast of Ngwalulu Island.

All the traditions are perfectly clear as to this point, and if a further proof is required, it is found in the fact that the skulls of the Sulu Vou people are taken, after death, to Ngwalo, and put into a graveyard there. This is a sure proof of the origin of the people, and a similar feature will be found in connexion with other artificial islands and the place of origin of their founders. Moreover, the Sulu Vou chiefs still own and use certain fishing grounds off Ngwalo, and Angasi kao, as a result of a quarrel with his "brothers," took up his residence at Ngwalo, at the home of his ancestors. We may take it for proved, then, that Leo was a man belonging to Ngwalo, who had gone to live at Funaa Vou, farther south in the lagoon. Later we shall see that Leo's family hailed originally from Suu, from Irobaoa's own home, Ulu Vera, which is an artificial island also. Since Irobaoa's generations show him to be the seventh in direct descent from Golo Ii'a, the founder of Ulu Vera, we are led to the conclusion that Ulu Vera was in existence before Funaa Vou, as Funaa Vou was before Sulu Vou. This is to throw the inquiry into the building of the artificial islands one step further back still.

The modern way of building one of these artificial islands cannot differ very much from that which Leo and his sons must have followed when they started building Sulu Vou. To-day, when a man is building an island, he makes a big raft of logs that will float, and loads it up with stones. This raft he pushes in front of him, swimming and wading with it, till he reaches the scene of his labours. The stones chosen are round or square or oblong in shape, pieces of coral rock broken off the bed of the lagoon, or haply lying loose on the bottom. The breaking of the rock may be done in these days with iron bars, but formerly sharpened sticks were used. If a man is desirous of building a new fera, or of adding to an existing one, as is done in the case of a prospective bridegroom who wishes to provide himself with a few square yards on which to build his house, he not infrequently works quite alone. Should he wish for help he will hire someone for a porpoise tooth a day. Thus Salaimanu, in recent days, working alone, began to build Fou buli as a home for his pigs. In such matters individualism has a clear place. The ordinary communal action characteristic of the people does not come into play when a man is faced with the need for satisfying his own personal desires. It is probably felt to be his own personal concern. From the fact that Marukua, the eldest son of Leo, founded Fera subua and went off to live there, it seems likely that the modern-day individual action in the matter of building a *pied à terre* springs from an inherent tendency in the mind of the people.

One can even fancy that Leo was left alone to build the future Sulu Vou, his sons busying themselves with their own concerns, or even lolling about in 'O'ona's beu on shore, or visiting other shore chiefs who were desirous of having their own fishermen. It is certain that Marukua was not much help to his father, for the building of Fera subua by Marukua is said to have gone on almost simultaneously with that of Sulu Vou. Father and son quarrelled, and the site of the future Fera subua was already marked out by a suka belonging to a chief called Maaloa, who lived on the mainland opposite. Similarly Saua Island began its existence as a suka built by Lolobo, a shore chief, and was turned into a fera by Marukua's second son, who built it. These suka were not merely places for holding money-bags. Any collection of stones is called a suka, and a suka may be made in the lagoon for the purpose of breaking open shell-fish, clams, etc., and cleaning them. Even a collection of empty clam shells left in the lagoon, or the empty shells of other shell-fish, is called a suka.

The choice of rocks for building is governed by the fact that the coral rocks on the floor of the lagoon are of a better shape, being square or round, than the flattened sea-tossed pieces of coral which are found on the reef. The lagoon rocks, moreover, are tougher and less liable to break, and are found at distances not far from the coast-line. The labour of ferrying them in these days is considerably lightened by what I think is a modern invention of the Fou Ii'a people when they were building their "wharf." Bush creepers are attached to each end of the raft, which is then pulled to and fro with much greater swiftness and ease than was possible under the old conditions of swimming and pushing the raft. The actual rocks found on the coast, and forming the floor of the lagoon to some distance out, are not used for building islands. They are of the same chalk formation as the white stones of the hills, and tend to crumble and break up, but the coral rocks used show little sign of weathering even after a hundred years, and they are not affected by salt water.

An island, when first built, has just enough room on it for a hut or two, the minimum requirement being a beu for the men, a luma for the wife and family, an obala for storage of canoes and for working in. The beu is the gathering-place both for the men of the island and for any male visitors. In the rear part of it bodies may be buried and religious rites carried on. The luma is the women's quarters, and the husband and his sons may eat and sleep there if they please, or may do their own cooking in the beu and sleep there also at night. The obala is a mere shed without any sides. All work connected with canoes and nets is done in the obala, and ordinarily the women may not enter it. After the actual rock-work of an island is completed, the next thing is to cover the floor of it with sand. The sand is carried in canoes and is got either from such places as the bar or the beaches of a big river like Hahava, or is collected from the deeps near to the reef. Women may do this part of the work, but it is the men who do the rock-work.

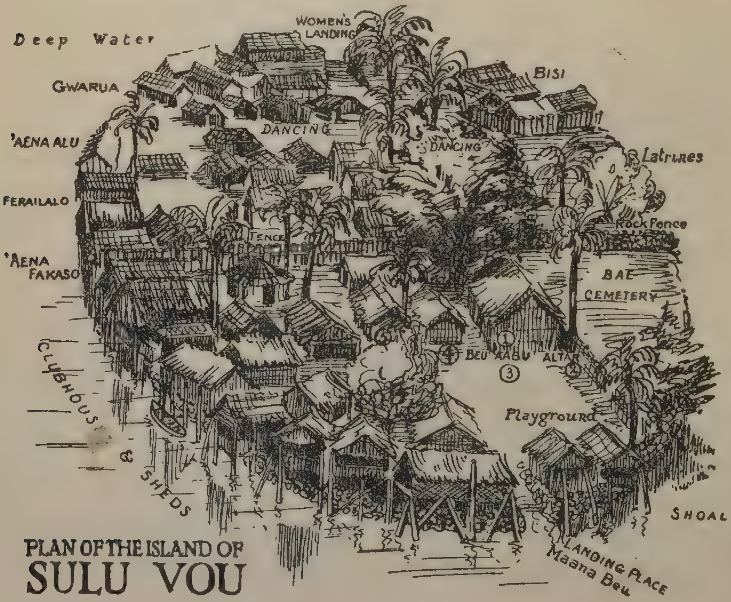
Leo, then, working from 'O'ona's suka began to build Sulu Vou. The suka, judging from the position of the barringtonia on the island, was built on a shoal in the lagoon, as sukas generally are. On the south side of the island some ten yards away from its big barringtonia, there is a shoal patch which is nearly dry at low spring tides. The outer wall of the island on this south side encloses the bae, the cemetery into which the bones of the dead are thrown, and the bae extends from the back of the barringtonia in a south-easterly direction, covering part of the shoal, and is terminated on the south-west by a collection of beus belonging to various chiefs. On the north-west corner of the bae is the beu aabu, with the big tree behind it.

The bae on its landward side has a fence of stones terminating at the beu aabu. It seems that Leo built his first beu on the site of the present beu aabu close alongside 'O'ona's barringtonia stick, which had begun to grow. The shoal to the south-east he reserved for a bae, and the luma and obala were built towards the west. Thus any future building on Sulu Vou by his descendants must take place in a given direction.

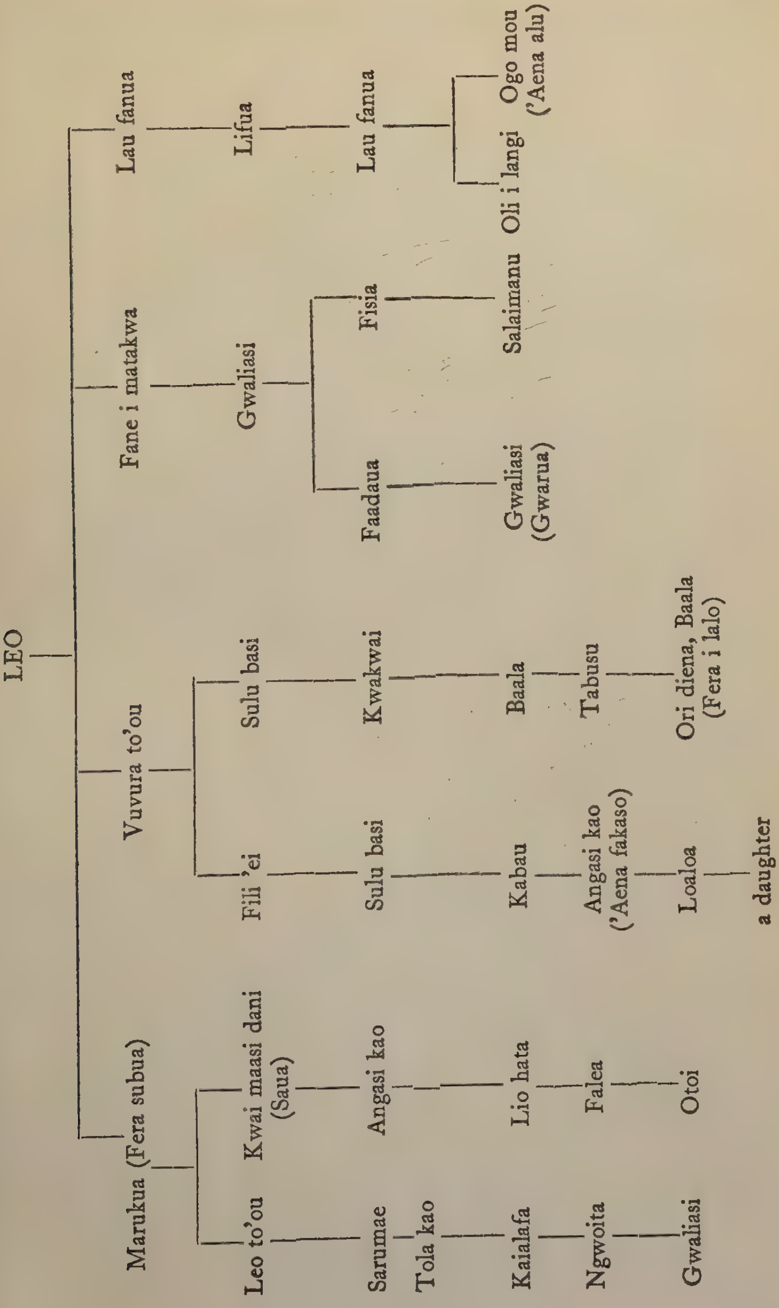
The island has overpassed the shoal and has deep water on its north and north-west sides, and any additional building to-day must be done in deep water, though shoal water still exists outside the bae. The only feasible explanation of this is found in the mind and action of Leo, the original founder ; and he was guided by the position of 'O'ona's suka and its tree, and by the custom of his ancestors in thus providing room for a bae for the safe deposit of his bones. It would have been allowable for the chiefs in later days to surround the bae with their beus, but considerations of religion and holy fear have dictated the course of events.

To-day there are four main landing-places on Sulu Vou corresponding to the four families on the island. Their names are: 1. 'Aena fakaso, 2. Fera i lalo, 3. Gwarua, 4. 'Aena alu. The same names are given to the four parts of the island, the four hamlets which lie near the landing-places. Number 1 landing, 'Aena fakaso, belongs to Angasi kao, the main chief, and therefore has a direct connexion with Leo, who probably built it; Number 2 belongs to Ori diena and Baala; Number 3 to Gwaliasi; Number 4 to Ogo mou and Kwakwari. These men are the heads of the four families. Visitors use the Gwarua landing, while a fifth landing, Maana beu, opposite the beu aabu, is reserved for the men of the place, the women being free to use the other landings and having a landing of their own in addition (*see* sketch plan below).

The generations, *talibaraa*, of Leo and his descendants are shown on the opposite page.


Deep Water
WOMEN'S LANDING
BISI
GWARUA
'AENA ALU
DANCING
DANCING
Latrines
FERAILALO
Rock Fence
FENCE
'AENA FAKASO
BAE CEMETERY
①
④ BEU AABU
③
ALTAR ②
CLUBHOUSES & SHEDS
Playground
SHOAL
LANDING PLACE Maana Beu

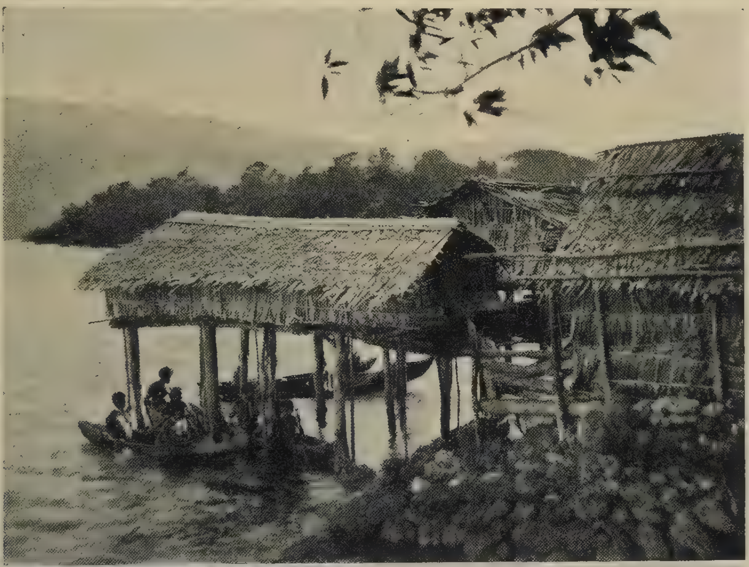
PLAN OF THE ISLAND OF
SULU VOU

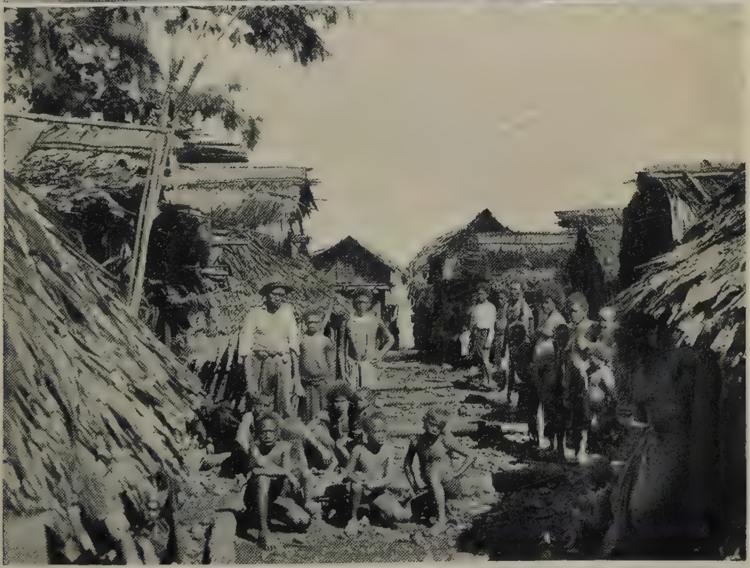

LEO
Marukua (Fera subua)
Vuvura to'ou
Fane i matakwa
Lau fanua
Leo to'ou
Kwai maasi dani (Saua)
Fili 'ei
Sulu basi
Gwaliasi
Lifua
Sarumae
Tola kao
Angasi kao
Sulu basi
Kwakwai
Faadaua
Fisia
Lau fanua
Kaialafa
Lio hata
Kabau
Baala
Gwaliasi (Gwarua)
Salaimanu
Oli i langi
Ogo mou ('Aena alu)
Ngwoita
Falea
Angasi kao ('Aena fakaso)
Tabusu
Gwaliasi
Otoi
Loaloa
Ori diena, Baala (Fera i lalo)
a daughter

The succession of the main line of chiefs at Sulu Vou, that descended from Vuvura, the second son of Leo, will pass in the future to Fola asi, son of Uramoa, the son of Ori diena. It cannot pass through females, and the only child of Loaloa is a girl. Kaialafa of Fera subua was a man over seventy when I first saw him in 1900. Angasi kao of Sulu Vou must be at least seventy years old now. He was in his late 'teens in 1875 when the *Bobtail Nag* took Renton away. Gwaliasi of Sulu Vou has an exemption from paying the poll-tax on the score of age and infirmity, but he is younger than Angasi kao by a good many years, being probably about sixty-five. He was in his prime at the time of the William Manson episode in 1894, and took a prominent part in it. In his prime he was of a very powerful physique. Ogo mou of Sulu Vou went with Qaisulia to Queensland in 1875, when the first men left Mala voluntarily in the *Bobtail Nag* to go abroad to work. He would not have been less than eighteen or nineteen at the time. Sulu Vou has several other men of the same generation as Angasi kao and Ogo mou, and all of them pay the poll-tax.

As stated above, the artificial islands of the north-east lagoon fall into three groups, and the people in each group regard themselves as descended from a common ancestor, *i.e.* from the man who built the first island in the particular group. In the second group, Fera subua to Ada Gege, the first island built was Sulu Vou, and its builder was Leo. All of the islands in this group are known to have been built by chiefs who were direct descendants of Leo. In the case of Fera subua and Saua I have given above the names of the builders. The rest of the islands, all of them smaller than the two mentioned, were offshoots of the principal three. Ada Gege was originally built by people from Leili Island who fled north from war. On their return it lay vacant, and was used as a maternity home.

A chief of Sulu Vou, three generations ago, the grandfather of Kwao, the present chief, claimed this maternity





1. STORE HOUSE, ADA GEGE ISLAND

THE CORAL STONES COMPOSING THE ISLAND APPEAR IN THE FOREGROUND. FOU II'A VILLAGE WHERE THE AUTHOR LIVED IS ON THE MAINLAND BEYOND THE POINT.

2. FERA SUBUA ISLAND

THE MARRIED QUARTERS.

island as his fera, and enlarged it, doubtless after the proper purifications had been made. He was joined by a hill man named Kwaena halo, who had been living at Sulu Vou, where he had married Aabu, a woman of the chiefly family. His son was the Qaisulia mentioned above, who accompanied Renton to Australia. So far as his descent goes, Qaisulia could not possibly be a chief on Ada Gege, for succession on Mala follows the father, the people being patrilineal. It is as well to make this point quite clear, since from the early days of the Labour trade white men have regarded Qaisulia as chief of Ada Gege (Urasi, as they called it). If any proof were needed of his position, beyond that afforded by the fact of his birth, it will be found in the list of fishing grounds on p. 258, where it will be seen that Kwao, the present chief of Ada Gege, is the only person on that island who owns fishing grounds. To a Lau man this is final.

On the north-east side of Sulu Vou is the *bisi*, the quarters set apart for women during the incidence of their monthly periods, and for mothers who have given birth to children at the maternity place on shore, and who remain secluded in the bisi for a period of thirty days. The bisi contains two or three huts only. On its inner side it is shut off by a wall of stones. From the northern end of the bisi to 'Aena fakaso there is a succession of store-houses for yams and quarters for unmarried men, the latter of which are built out on piles from the side of the island. From 'Aena fakaso to Maana beu there are club-houses and sheds extending up to the beu aabu, and this part of the island is tabu to women. In all, Sulu Vou has eleven club-houses for men (*beu*), which women are not allowed to enter, or even to pass in front of.

The two most important beus are those marked "4" and "5" in the sketch plan, the beu for the Aofia, and Buga's beu, in which are Sina Kwao's relics. Into Buga's house the rank and file of the men will not enter, owing to the presence there of the relics. The beu of the Aofia has also a sacred character. Men will freely enter one another's beus. The island has two dancing-grounds, the one at the back of the beu aabu being much the larger of the two. Both of these are open to women. There are three official permanent altars on the islands, marked "1," "2," "3" on the plan. The first is inside the beu aabu, to the left, the second is outside in the right-hand corner of the beu aabu, the third faces the beu in the open. The private beus have altars for the offering of first-fruits.

In front of the beu aabu there is an open space where the younger boys are allowed to play. When Sulu Vou was burned, in 1912, everything on the island was destroyed except the beu aabu, the two official beus and one private beu alongside it. The fire started in a beu, but fortunately in the daytime, and the tide happened to be low. Instantly all was in confusion, men rushing here and there, women with their children wading or swimming out into the lagoon for safety. The Christians from Fou Ii'a near by rendered splendid service. They alone kept their heads, and they directed operations, climbing on the beu aabu and putting the sparks out. It was tabu for the women to approach the beu aabu, but Jack Talofuila gathered them all into the space in front of it and thus undoubtedly saved many lives. He made a further break with tradition by housing them in the one private beu that was saved, till further provision could be made for them. The fury of the flames was greatly added to by the fact that tins of kerosene were stored in several of the houses. The fire took place during the incidence of a feast, and forty pigs were burned. It was supposed to have been caused by a ghost who was unwilling that the feast should be held. The money and ornaments and valuables of the people all perished, and the skulls stored in the beus pending removal to Ngwalo were all consumed. Many coco-nut trees, including some that had been planted by Vuvura, the son of Leo, were destroyed.

Funaa Vou is said to have been founded by two men, Radu of Manu asi, and Odu of Baaleo, two villages on the foothills near by. This tradition is undoubtedly a reliable one, but, at the same time, there is good evidence of a very close connexion between Funaa Vou and Asi ni ngwane, Ataa Cove. Just as Sulu Vou takes the skulls of its dead periodically to Ngwalo, so Funaa Vou takes its skulls to Asi ni ngwane. Similarly, both places duplicate their big feasts, holding one at home and the other at the ancestral place where the skulls are deposited. In the case of Sulu Vou the feast is first held at Ngwalo and then at home, but Funaa Vou reverses this order and holds its first feast at Asi ni ngwane.

The generations of Odu of Funaa Vou are as follows: 1. Odu, 2. Hau lifu = Taasia of Asi ni ngwane, 3. Kaakae (from Asi ni ngwane), 4. Bira, 5. Raea, 6. Faavunua, 7. Talo, 8. Kakalu 'ae, 9. a child. Talo, the present-day chief, is the contemporary of the elder chiefs of Sulu Vou. That he is the sixth in order from Odu, puts Odu a generation earlier than Leo, the founder of Sulu Vou, and argues that Funaa Vou was founded before Sulu Vou, as my informants all maintained.

Fuaga is an island in Ataa Cove. Like Funaa Vou it is not purely an "artificial" island, for both of them have an original isolated rock as a foundation, an outlying projection of the shore rocks. The rock in the centre of Funaa Vou is of a considerable height and has large natural trees on it. In each of these two cases the existing rock has been used as a base round which building operations have been carried on. The two islands have been built up by throwing coral rocks in the shallows round about an already existing rock. From the "generations" of Buga it would appear that Fuaga was founded at a date considerably earlier than Funaa Vou. Buga himself is in direct descent from the original founder of Fuaga, but he is not the main chief of the island.

The generations of Buga are as follows: 1. Lifo rerere,

2. Baraelifo, 3. Ekwea, 4. Kai, 5. Talou, 6. 'A'ali, 7. Sugumanu, 8. Ludengia, 9. Fane au, 10. Babalakwa, 11. Buga. The first two names of Buga's genealogy will, I think, have to be omitted. Like so many genealogies, the first couple of names seem to be quite mythological. In the present case the first two names have an unfamiliar appearance, both of them contain the word *lifo* (tooth), an unusual word to occur in a proper name.

That Fuaga preceded Sulu Vou in the order of foundation is clear enough, for we have the evidence that Litioa, the mother of Leo, was a woman of Fuaga. Also there is good reason to believe that Ataa Cove was, from very early times, the scene of considerable activity; Asi ni ngwane, a shore village there, is no new place. Its very name, Sacred Sea, denotes its antiquity. There is no such name anywhere in the north-east lagoon, and the ring of it is sufficient for those who have ears to hear. Again, the culture hero, Sina Kwao, had very close dealings in story with Ataa Cove, and his relics came eventually to Fuaga.

When Leo began Sulu Vou he was doing a new thing so far as the east coast of Mala was concerned. The three artificial islands already in existence on that coast were but additions to an already existing rock situated in a lagoon. Whatever motives the founders had in starting to build, whether it was a desire to be near their markets, as was the case with Leo, or whether they were copying an example set by the people of Auke, who, from the "generations" of their main chief, were ahead even of Fuaga in the time of the foundation of their island, their enterprise deserves the highest praise, and marks them out as very wonderful men. But of all the founders of artificial islands on the east coast Leo stands out as the most worthy of our admiration, for he actually built an island in the sea with no existing rock to serve as his starting-point and foundation. He had to trust in his own skill in building, and to work out his method for himself. He was thus a true pioneer in building, and the remaining thirty purely artificial islands of his lagoon owe their existence to his courage and enterprise.

It remains now to consider the case of the three artificial islands in Suu harbour at the north end of Mala. Their names are Ulu vera, Bebelu, Faatai i asi. In recent days Ulu vera has borne also the name Faka (Ship), as Suu also is called Suu i faka (Suu of the ships), the name being taken on account of the number of ships that have been in the habit of anchoring there from the days of the Labour trade onwards. The original Ulu vera (Wade to the village), was on the shore opposite the present island. The first two names in the list of Irobaoa's ancestors seem, from their names, to be mythological persons. Irabaoa's genealogical table is as follows: 1. Liu ka rodo (Walk about till dark), 2. Liu ka dani (Walk about till day), 3. Fiu i Ulu vera, 4. Fiu i kuukuule, 5. Fiu i maafue, 6. Fiu i maua, 7. Fiu i gesu mola, 8. Fiu i kwaana gone, 9. Fiu i suu ngwalulu, 10. Oli i Ulu vera, 11. Oli i kuukuule, 12. Oli i maafue, 13. Oli i maua, 14. Oli i gesu mola, 15. Oli i suu ngwalulu, 16. Oli i kwaana gone, 17. Takanaa bulu, 18. Dau'ana, 19. Golo ii'a, 20. Bulu i Gao, 21. Nonga, 22. Fata, 23. Livua, 24. Fafali, 25. Sinelia, 26. Irobaoa, 27. Talimatakwa, 28. Boe.

It will be seen that Irobaoa, Number 26, is the seventh in order from Golo ii'a, Number 19, the founder of Ulu vera. By our argument this would show that Ulu vera preceded Funaa Vou, as Funaa Vou preceded Sulu Vou, in order of foundation; Talo, the present chief of Funaa Vou, being sixth in order from Odu, and Angasi kao fifth in order from Leo. There are several points in Irobaoa's "generations" worthy of comment. Numbers 1 to 9 form a series, as do Numbers 10 to 16. "Fiu" of the first series, means "ginger," and doubtless has reference to some ancestor whose death was compassed by the employment of ginger in black magic. "Oli," of the second series, means "reverse," "go back to," and it is evident from the list that each member of the second series has "gone back" for his name to his corresponding number in the first series. Numbers 15 and 16 seem to be reversed in order, but they stand as I received them from Irobaoa. Takanaa bulu, Number 17, is the connecting link between Suu and Sulu Vou.

On the west coast of Big Mala there are two sets of people who live on islands in lagoons, the first at Auke, the second at Langalanga. The islands at Auke are true "artificial" islands so far as I know. I once slept the night on one of them many years ago, but I have not visited them since, and I do not actually know whether there is a "core" of solid rock in Sulu Vou, the principal one of them, as there is at Ulu vera, Funaa Vou, and Fuaga. From the name Sulu Vou, I am inclined to think that the Auke island is a pure Rock Wall. Thanks to the kindness of the Rev. A. Mason, of the Melanesian Mission at Fiu, I am able to give here the "generations" of Kukuru, the present-day chief of Sulu Vou, Auke. They are as follows: 1. Ulubae (the builder of Sulu Vou), 2. Abebara, 3. Dongaitolo, 4. Lamu, 5. Sulu muu, 6. Kariau, 7. Olisimae, 8. Rao lu maasuu, 9. Somai, 10. Kukuru, 11. Maeka.

Kukuru, the present-day chief, is seen, by this list, to be the ninth chief in succession to Ulubae, the founder of his island. This is to put Ulubae a generation ahead of Ekwea, the founder of Fuaga. If the argument followed in this chapter holds, viz. that the order of seniority among the artificial islands can be determined by the lists of their main chiefs, Auke is the oldest of them all.

For the present, then, our quest after the first artificial island on Mala ends at Auke, with Ulubae as the name of the builder. We shall have to class Ulubae with the island-builders of the east coast, Golo ii'a, Odu, and Leo, if he is not altogether in a class by himself. His exploit is indeed greater than any of theirs, in that, so far as the present evidence goes, he was beginning an entirely new thing when he started to build his Rock Wall, whereas the others would have his example before them.

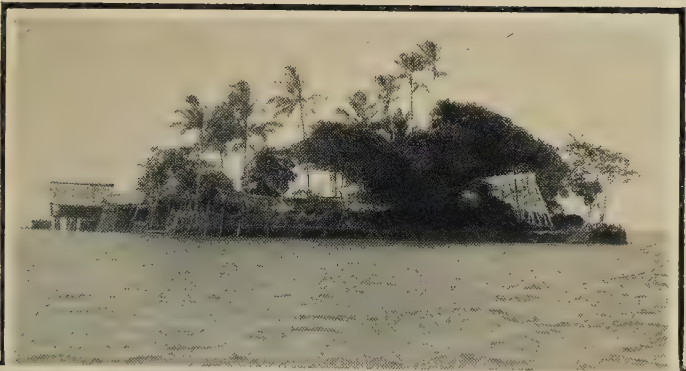
But there are qualifications to be made in this connexion, and each case must be considered on its own merits. New fashions have certainly spread through Mala, things have been introduced from abroad and the use of them has spread from people to people. But in these cases the things have been passed from hand to hand, and men have seen that which they have copied. It is highly probable that Golo ii'a of Ulu vera had been to Auke. Even in those days the catching of porpoises must have been carried out by the peoples both of Auke and of Suu, as it still is to-day, and similar pursuits would entail interchange of visits, since Auke and Suu are close enough together for such visits to be paid. But Golo ii'a, when building his island, did not choose a shallow in the lagoon, as presumably Ulubae did. He chose an isolated rock instead and built round it. Leo, again, may have visited Auke. In any case, he would be familiar with the construction both of Ulu vera and of Funaa Vou, but he attempted what was then a new thing on the east coast, and his island was built without any natural rock as a starting-point. Let each of these heroes have his own place in the pantheon!

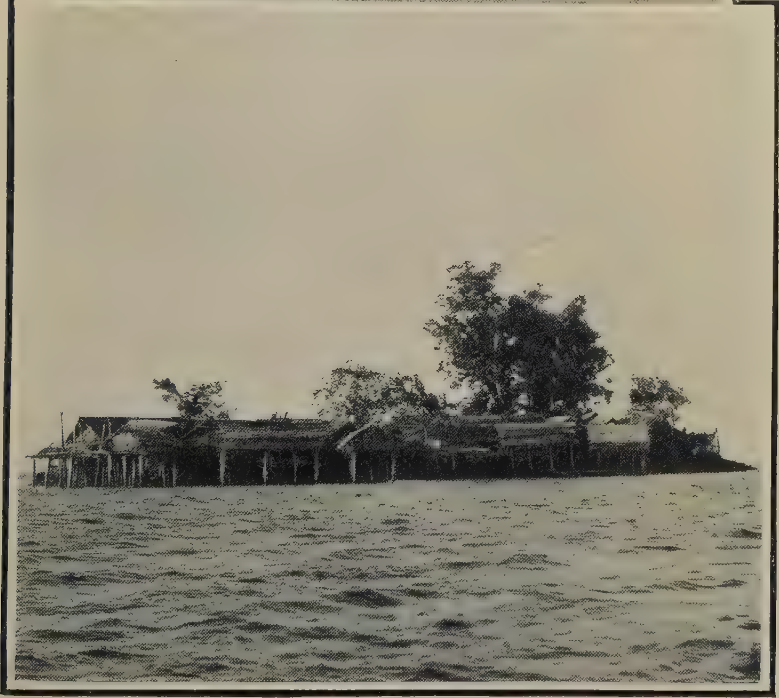
I have already written something of the story of John Renton, the first white man to visit the artificial islands of the north-east lagoon of Mala. He was one of five sailors who had deserted in 1868 from an American ship engaged in getting guano from McKean's Island, near the equator. Their whale-boat was carried by wind and tide to Mala, where it went ashore on the reef to the north of Ngwalulu Island. It was sighted by canoes from Maanaoba village going to a fish-market. All of the five men were very weak from exposure. The four elder men were killed by the people of Maanaoba, but Renton was saved on account of his youth, the chief claiming him for himself. He stayed a year on Ngwalulu, and then Kabau, the chief of Sulu Vou, asked for him and took him to Sulu Vou.

The news of his residence there soon got abroad, and

Kabau was asked by the people of the two islands Ngongosila and 'Ai leli, farther south, to give him up to them. Their wish was to kill him in revenge for the abduction and murder of several of their people by a ship that had lately been kidnapping men along the coast. When the canoes had gone off to this ship, the crews had been enticed aboard by the desire to get the plane-blades which were shown to them. Once on board they were taken below and forcibly detained. In other cases pig-iron was dropped into the canoes, and the natives were then overtaken in boats and captured. Kabau refused to give up his man, saying: "You can have him if you cross my legs," *i.e.* if you commit adultery with my wife. This oath is a final deterrent. It meant that Kabau would fight rather than grant their request.

Renton was given the utmost freedom, and was careful to do nothing that would offend the people. He did, however, take food out with him when going with the men to fish, saying that he was hungry and that it was the custom of his people to do so. This is not the Lau custom, regard being had herein to the supposed wishes of the ghosts in whose power lies the supplying of fish for the net. His clothes were worn out and he went quite naked, after the fashion of the country. His skin blistered, and he must have suffered a good deal, for no oil was available to anoint himself with. He was so much one of the people that he was allowed to go out with the men to hunt turtle, a thing specially under the care of the ghosts. At Bita'ama, where the porpoise-hunting took place, he joined with the crowd on shore who leapt into the river when the fish came ashore, but was not allowed to go out in the canoes with the "sacred company" who went to find the porpoises. He went to work in the gardens on the hills, and he accompanied the men to feasts in the hill villages. At such times he carried a spear. The fear of Kabau prevented any attack being made on him. He also went to a fight. Renton was asked if he wished to marry, but refused.





SULU VOU ISLAND

THE BUILDING ON THE RIGHT IS THE 'HOLY HOUSE' WHERE THE SACRIFICES ARE MADE. THE TREE BEHIND IT IS THE BARRINGTONIA DATING FROM THE FOUNDATION OF THE ISLAND 250 YEARS AGO.

ADA GEGE ISLAND

His first opportunity to leave Sulu Vou was in 1875, when a Labour vessel from Queensland was seen standing off and on to the north. The ship was the *Bobtail Nag*, from Brisbane. Renton wrote a message with charcoal on a piece of board, asking to be taken off, and sent it on board the ship. His messenger was ignorant of the nature of writing for otherwise the message would not have been delivered, for Kabau and his people were really fond of Renton. A boat from the ship came ashore, and Renton had the greatest difficulty in securing permission to leave Sulu Vou. He only succeeded by promising to return and to bring presents. With him went ten men, including Kwaisulia of Ada Gege, and two men of Sulu Vou, who are still alive. Angasi kao, the eldest son of Kabau, pleaded to be allowed to go but his father forbade him.

The *Bobtail Nag* gave many presents to the people, including plane-blades, and the Sulu Vou elders of to-day say that they (who were boys at the time) have never worked with flints since the visit of the ship. Renton made two subsequent visits to Sulu Vou in Labour vessels, and each time loaded the people with presents. It was said to me that the attachment felt by Sulu Vou for white people was due to their experience with Renton. Would that it had always been thus in the Pacific!

Renton stated, in Queensland, that three of his companions never recovered from the hardships which they had undergone, and gradually sank and died. "The fourth one had borne up better, but had remained so long debilitated and sickly that his captors had lost patience, and, having decoyed him up to his middle in the sea, on the pretence of a fishing excursion, had there clubbed him to death. Afterwards they attached stones to his body and sank it in deep water." The account given to me was that all the four were killed, but it would be pleasant to think that Renton's account was the truer. That the men should have been allowed to live is certainly more in keeping with the fate of other castaways on the Lau islands, and the decoying of the fourth man into the water, and killing him there, agrees with the Lau practice with regard to *lalamoa* (men killed by violence).

But there are certain details recorded by Renton which do not agree with the accounts that have always been given by the natives respecting his history in the place, and he states that he had no first-hand knowledge of the fate of his companions. He quite lost count of time, and in his message to the *Bobtail Nag* he said he had been five years on the place, whereas the time was seven years. Also his preserver, Kabau, was far from being a young man, as he states, seeing that his son Angasi kao was old enough to want to accompany the *Bobtail Nag*. The natives have always said that Renton remained a year on Ngwalulu Island before he accompanied Kabau to Sulu Vou, but the account reads as if his departure there followed close upon his arrival in the boat.

Renton states that the people worked exclusively with tools of stone or shell. They had some tomahawks of European make which had been obtained from the natives of Ysabel, who had got them from visiting ships. But these tomahawks were too highly prized to be put to common use, and were hung up in the rear part of the beus, where the skulls were kept.

CHAPTER THREE

Social Organization

The relationship terms in Lau are as follows :—

1.	Father	*ha-ama-, maka ; maa, mamaa.*
2.	Mother	*tee*
3.	Child	*ngwela ; alakwa, harii.*
4.	Brother-sister	*ha-asi-, ngwai ngwaena, ngwai ngwane*
5.	Elder brother, elder sister	*auaa ; doora*
6.	Father's brother	*maka, maka rua.*
7.	Father's sister, mother's sister	*tee, tee rua.*
8.	Father's sister's husband	*maka, maka rua.*
9.	Father's sister's child	*dii.*
10.	Mother's brother	*ko'o, koko'o.*
11.	Mother's brother's wife	*tee, tee rua.*
12.	Mother's brother's child	*dii.*
13.	Sister's child (M.S.)	*ko'o, koko'o.*
14.	Sister's child (W.S.)	*ngwela.*
15.	Brother's child (M.S.)	*ngwela.*
16.	Brother's child (W.S.)	*aia.*
17.	Grandfather, grandmother	*ko'o, koko'o.*
18.	Grandchild	*ko'o, koko'o.*
19.	Father-in-law, mother-in-law, son-in-law	*fungo.*
20.	Daughter-in-law, wife of near relative	*geni hungao*
21.	Husband	*aarai ; kwae-.*
22.	Wife	*afe, geni ; ai, kwai-.*
23.	Wife's brothers, wife's sisters, sister's husband, husband's brothers, husband's sisters, brother's wife	*baraa.*
24.	Wife of husband's brother	*sa-ula, geni.*
25.	Relatives by birth	*too futa, 'ae bara, gule bara.*
26.	Family	*kwalafa.*

The relationship terms in To'oa Baita and Fiu are as follows :—

	To'oa Baita.	Fiu.
1. Father	*maka ; maa*	*maka, maa.*
2. Mother	*tha-ina, na-inaa*	*tea.*
3. Child	*ngwela ; alakwa, tharii*	*alakwo, sarii.*
4. Brother-sister	*tha-asi, doora, thoo*	*sa-asi.*
5. Father's brother	*maka, maka rua*	*maka.*
6. Father's sister, mother's sister	*tha-ina*	*tea.*
7. Father's sister's husband	*maka, maka rua*	*maka.*
8. Father's sister's child	*di'i*	*di'i.*
9. Mother's brother	*koko'o*	*ngwae.*
10. Mother's brother's wife	*tha-ina*	*tea*
11. Mother's brother's child	*di'i*	*di'i.*
12. Sister's child (M.S.)	*koko'o*	*ngwae*
13. Brother's child (W.S.)	*koko'o*	*aai.*
14. Grandfather, grandmother	*koko'o*	*ko'o.*
15. Grandchild	*koko'o*	*ko'o.*
16. Father-in-law, mother in-law, son-in-law	*tha-ifa*	*luma'a.*
17. Daughter-in-law, wife of near relative	*kini fungao*	*funga.*
18. Husband	*aarai, kwaena*	*aarai.*
19. Wife	*kini, kwaina*	*afe, kwaina.*
20. Wife's brother, wife's sisters, husband's brothers, husband's sisters, brother's wife	*luma'a*	*luma'a.*
21. Wife of husband's brother, husband of wife's sister	*tha-ula*	*luma'a.*
22. Relatives by birth	*inala-, too futa, gule bara*	*ngwae futa.*
23. Family	*kwalafa*	*fuu ni ngwae 'ana luma'a.*

The To'oa Baita terms were gathered out of a manuscript dictionary compiled by Miss C. Waterston, of the South Sea Evangelical Mission; the Fiu terms were supplied by the Rev. A. Mason, of the Melanesian Mission.

There is a distinction made in the class of pronoun denoting possession, which is used with certain of the relationship terms. Five of the Lau terms: *ha-ama* (father), *ha-asi* (brother, sister, ortho-cousin), *dii* (cross-cousin), *doora* (brother, sister), *kwae* (husband, wife), *kwalafa* (family), have the pronouns *gu*, *mu*, *na*, suffixed to denote possession. The rest of the relationship terms do not take the suffixed possessive pronoun, but require the addition of the ordinary personal pronoun *nau*, etc., to denote possession.

The articles *ha*, *na*, *sa*, *tha*, have become permanently attached as a prefix to certain relationship terms ; these are indicated by the use of a hyphen. In *sa-ula*, *tha-ula*, the *ula* may be the same as the Ulawa *ula* (brother, sister). The Lau *hafila* (centipede) (Florida *liva*) is *rafila* in Alaa, *safila* and *wafila* in Tolo, *aliha* in Ulawa. These all show a prefixed article, and *wa* of *wafila* is the *wa* of the Ulawa *wauwa* (grandfather, grandchild). Lau uses the phrases : *ngwai ngwaena*, *ngwai ngwane*, to express the brother-sister relationship. *Ngwai* is a plural prefix denoting reciprocity of relationship, and *ngwaena* is *mwae*, *mwaena* of Sa'a, and *ngwae* of Kwara 'Ae, which mean "a male person." Throughout Mala *ngwane*, *mwane*, *mane* denotes "male." It is evident then, that *ngwai ngwaena*, *ngwai ngwane* in Lau mean "the males," those people who stand in the relationship of "males" to one another. It is as if the brothers and sisters who make up a family are regarded as the "men" of the place. If this be the explanation of the phrase, it agrees well with the outstanding place which the men occupy in Lau. In Lau it is the male person who counts, and *mwane gi* (males), is the ordinary word used for "people." Even women use it as including themselves. Similarly, the exclamation *ro ngwane* (males) ! is employed by women when speaking to one another. There is a word *imola* which answers to "homo," but it is not much in use. Mr. Deck told me that Kwara 'Ae has no word of this latter sort, and uses *ngwane* for both "male person" and "homo." To'oa Baita does the same, although it has *imole*, which is Lau *imola*. The patrilineal descent of the people has caused them to regard the male as the sum total of everything.

The mother's-brother and sister's-children relationship is *ko'o*, *koko'o* in Lau and To'oa Baita, and *ngwae* (male person) in Fiu. In Lau, the mother's-brother speaks of his sister's-children as his *alakwa* and *harii* (boy and girl). As Dr. Rivers says (*see M.S.*, Vol. I, p. 237), "an exceptional feature of the North Mala system is that the grandparents, *ko'o*, *koko'o*, or rather the grandparent-grandchild relationships are denoted by the same term as is used for the mother's brother and his sister's child." He rightly connects North Mala *ko'o* (grandparent) with Florida *kukua*, which is *tupui* of Mota, *tupuna*, of Polynesia, with the same meaning. I question, however, whether *ko'o* is used in Lau, as Dr. Rivers says, of the wife of the mother's brother and the husband of the father's sister. On page 239 (*op. cit.*) Dr. Rivers remarks that, in his opinion, the words for "mother's brother" and "grandparent" were originally different in Lau. There is no proof of this, however, and in Chapter XIX I shall endeavour to explain the use of the one term for the two relationships.

The daughter-in-law is given a special term to herself, *geni hungao*. This term is applicable primarily to the wife of the head chief, she being the person who starts the relationship in a given generation. The terms employed for relationship-at-law, *hungao*, *fungo*, *funga*, are in common use throughout the Pacific for similar relationships. To'oa Baita *na-ifa* is Sa'a *ihe*—which has a similar employment.

The word for husband, *aarai*, is used in Lau to express "chief" or "elder" as well. Husband and wife may speak of one another as *kwaegu*, my kwae. A married woman is called *afe*. *Ai* is used in Lau of women generally, or of one woman, and a man may speak of his wife as *ai nau*, my *ai*. The feminine article *ni* is used before *ai*, but not before *afe* and *geni*.

Baraa, which is used of the brother-in-law and sister-in-law relationships in Lau, means primarily "wedding feast'; it also bears the meaning "generations," and *talisi baraa* is to go through the list of a man's male ancestors. The term *luma'a* in the other two languages means "of the house," as though all these relatives-at-law lived together in the one house. The Lau people told me that this was indeed the case with the Koio people.

A word, *kwala*, *kwalafi*, in North Mala, means "to beget," and, after the Melanesian custom, this word is used of both parents. *Kwalafa*, *kwala futalaa*, denote "family," the relatives on either side of the house. *Bara*, the root of *baraa*, wedding-feast, is used in Lau to denote a "family" in the restricted sense, and the man will speak of his wife and children as *bara gami*, our bara. *Gule bara*, place of the bara, is the widest application in Lau and To'oa Baita of the idea of family, and includes all possible relatives by blood on both sides. A smaller circle of people, *e.g.* father, mother, children, father's brothers and sisters and their children, is called *'ae bara*, foundation of the bara. *Bara* also denotes a "company": *bare ngwela*, children.

A man's two wives, or the wives of two brothers, speak of one another in Lau as *saula nau*, my saula, or *geni nau*. The To'oa Baita *inala*, relatives by birth, is composed of *ina* + *la*, where *la* is the gerundival ending common to both Sa'a and North Mala. The suffixes *ku*, *mu*, *na* are added, and *inalaku* means "my kinsman." From the forms *sa-ina*, *na-inaa*, it will be seen that *ina* means "mother." *Ina* is in common use for "mother" throughout the Pacific, and Mr. S. H. Ray connects it with IN. *ina*, mother. The Lau *inala* might thus be rendered "motherhood." It is a remarkable word for a patrilineal people to possess, and speaks of a time when descent was counted through the mother. The Areare and Kware 'Ae peoples, and the peoples of Little Mala, do not use *ina* for "mother"; Kwara 'Ae (Fiu) using *tea*, and the other peoples using *nike*. I suggested elsewhere (*see M.S.E.S.I.*, p. 60) that *nike* is a compound of *ni*, Lau feminine prefix, and *ke*, which is the Lau *tee*, Kwara 'Ae *tea* (mother). The feminine article *ni* appears also in the (Mala) language of Marau Sound, Guadalcanal, where *nikia*, *i.e.* "she our," is used for "mother." In Lau a big thing is called *doo tee baita* (mother thing), and *tee* is also used as meaning "kind," "unit," *uu ni tee i doo* (of one kind).

Descent among the Lau peoples and among all the hill peoples of the north end of Mala is patrilineal, and there is no trace of mother-right, though there is a practice in connexion with betrothals (*see* p. 94) which is a survival of an older system. In Lau the family, *i.e.* father, mother, and children, is called by the general name *bara*. The bara is a group of persons related to one another, other than by marriage, whether through father or mother. When it is desired to include a greater number of these relatives, *e.g.* the children of a father's brother, a further term, *'ae bara* (the main bara) is used. When the mother's people are included, and a wider circle still is indicated, *gule bara* (place of the bara) is the term used. This last term is a final one. The bara, the bilateral family, is the only form of cultural grouping amongst the Lau peoples.

On Sulu Vou there are four gule bara, four families in the widest sense of the word, known to the people. Each of these families traces its descent from Leo, and in theory the whole four of them form one people, one set of relatives who are all "too futa," relatives by birth. In the time of Kabau, the fourth chief in descent from Leo, the children of two of his sisters began to be classed as two extra families. The people were numerous, and it was felt that the prestige of Sulu Vou would be increased by the addition of two more families. Such a movement, however, could find no permanent footing amongst a patrilineal people, and it came to nothing. Each of the artificial islands has one or more gule bara tracing descent from the founder, and the people of each island are all "too futa" to one another.

Every island is an entity in itself, a fera, and each person on the island who is of the family, is spoken of as *'aei fera* (belonging to the fera). The word fera denotes primarily a village, and is a common Mala word. In Lau, as is natural, fera bears the additional meaning of artificial island, an ordinary island, *e.g.* Ngwalulu, being called *'au'au'a*. All the 'aei fera of a given fera are regarded as relatives by birth, members of one family. Men from the hills who take up their residence on the island, and who are not *too futa* by reason of their birth from some Lau woman married to a hill man, or from some hill woman who married a Lau man, are not reckoned as 'aei fera. Should such strangers marry on the island, their children become *too futa* to the island people, and true 'aei fera. It is in an idea associated with *too futa* that the religion of the Lau people consists. By religion I mean here the binding force which makes the people one, and also connects them with their ancestors. All of them worship the one founder, who is the agalo of the whole fera, and each 'ae bara, in addition, has its own agalo, the founder of its own line, who belongs specially to it and protects its members. To kill a *too futa* would automatically break religious continuity and bring desecration to the family altar. The agalos are the conservers of all that has to do with the family. If it were desired to kill a *too futa*, the protection of the family agalo must first be removed from him by means of a sacrifice. He would then be unprotected, and no harm would result from killing him.

Marriage in Lau is allowable between those who might actually be of the one family in the widest sense of the word, but in practice no marriage is allowed between two people whose degree of relationship is what we should term that of first or second cousins to one another. When it comes to the third generation of "cousins" it is considered that the ties of blood exist no longer, so far as marriage is concerned, and that a marriage with a third cousin is a marriage with a person who is quite outside the family. This is a general rule throughout Mala and Ulawa.

The term *ko'o* describes the relationship between a man and his sister's children, girls as well as boys. This term is mutually applicable to both the parties between whom the relationship exists. The mother's brother does not speak of his sister's children as his ngwela, *i.e.* his sons or daughters, but as his ko'o. He does, however, speak of the boys as his *alakwa* (boys), and of the girls as his *harii* (maidens). He helps in the provision of the bride-price when the alakwa is about to be married, as do all the members of the bara. Similarly, when a man's ko'o is giving a feast, his mother's brother, his ko'o, will help him. And so with everything the younger man takes in hand. But this is only what all his relatives on his father's side are accustomed to do also. If the uncle goes overseas, he is careful to bring back a present for his ko'o. The uncle will also assume the care of his sister's children should she be left a widow, and there be no "brother" of her late husband to look after them. It is not an unusual thing for a man's sister's son to succeed him in the office of priest, if he himself has no son of his own to succeed him. There is no such close bond in Lau or in North Mala between the two ko'o as exists in some other parts of Melanesia. The recognition of the relationship by the use of a particular term for it points to a previous state of society in which special duties were required of both the parties. In the present day the relationship amounts to very little.

The children of two brothers or two sisters are reckoned as brothers and sisters. Marriage between these two sets of cousins is strictly forbidden. Any such marriage would be incestuous to the mind of the native, and the penalty would be death. This prohibition of marriages between the children of two brothers or two sisters extends to the second generation; but in the third generation marriage between them is permitted. In the words of the people "everything is new" by that time. The children of a brother and sister, cross-cousins, have a special term of relationship applied to them. They are *dii*, and the term is used by them when addressing a member of the opposite branch of the family. The marriage of cross-cousins is utterly prohibited, and the children of cross-cousins are reckoned as brothers and sisters. Marriage between second-cousins is not looked upon with favour by the parents. Cases actually do occur, but the contracting parties have not the consent of their parents, and are compelled by the force of public opinion to leave the island where they belong, and go and live elsewhere. There is no restriction in Lau on the meeting of cross-cousins of opposite sexes, and they mingle freely with one another. Dr. Rivers states that the existence of a term for the cross-cousin relationship is a proof of the one-time existence of the Dual Organization in a place.

On the island called Däi, Gower Island, midway between Mala and Ysabel Island, cousins of every kind are allowed to marry, cross-cousins as well as ortho-cousins. The reason given to me was that the population of Däi is very scanty, and that, in consequence, such marriages were inevitable. I have a further note stating that on Däi a man may marry his sister's daughter. If this means his niece, and I do not see what else it could mean, it shows the straits to which the men were reduced for wives. Nowadays there is more frequent communication between Däi and Mala, and the peoples intermarry. The original occupation of the island took place from Suu, North Mala. The island is said to be overrun with flocks of wood pigeons, which eat up the sweet potatoes planted nowadays by the people. It is not possible to grow much food on Däi, but there is plenty of wild taro. Crocodiles are found in the lake. Mr. Woodford wrote the name of the island as Ndei, but the Mala people call it Däi, i Dei, the *a* changing to *e* after the preceding vowel *i*, which, in this case, is the locative.

The men of the Lau folk have a custom of making formal friendships with one another. Two men will exchange shell-moneys and make presents of food to one another.

The son of one of the friends may marry the daughter of the other, and the friendship of the parents is maintained by the paying of visits to one another from time to time. If their children desire it, the friendship may be continued in the next generation. The contracting parties frequently live at a considerable distance apart.

The Lau chiefs are chiefs by virtue of their birth, and not because of any prowess which they may manifest, or any wealth which they may amass, or any spiritual power which may manifest itself in them. Their functions are distinct from those of the priests, who are of the same lineage with them; but on given occasions they have the right to sacrifice to their ancestors. The phrase, *fisi kwau* (top branches), which is used of chiefs, is an evidence of how chiefs are regarded in Lau. Little actual government, as we understand the term, was exercised by them in the past.

They were not the dispensers of justice for their people. Indeed, there was nothing in the life or conduct of the people that would create any necessity for such administration of justice. Everything was ruled by custom and convention, and all breaches of these were condemned by public opinion. The possible causes of communal trouble that might arise would be connected with the unlicensed use of fishing grounds or garden grounds belonging to others, or with the gathering of almond nuts from other men's trees. The ownership of all garden grounds or fishing grounds, as well as of all fruit trees, is thoroughly well known. It is perhaps overstating matters to say that such causes of trouble in the communities never occurred in the past; but one's knowledge of the mentality of the people makes one say that the respect felt and shown for property makes it exceedingly improbable that men, either in Lau or in Tolo, violated traditional ownership of property on land or sea. Thefts of pigs or of money actually did occur, and these were the cause of local or of inter-tribal fighting. Since the return of the Kanakas, who brought with them a superficial knowledge of English custom with regard to the ownership of uncultivated tracts of land, and to the right of all men to fish in the sea, the Government of the Solomons has had to settle cases of unwarranted invasion of property, both on land and in the fishing grounds in the lagoon.

Convention and custom and the general mind of the people ruled their conduct also in sexual matters. Marriage within the prohibited degrees was a sheer impossibility. Breaches of morality, viz., adultery or incest or abduction of women, were punishable with death. The offenders knew the risk they ran of being killed by the relatives of the women concerned. In war a good deal of licence occurred with regard to women, but no one people ever occupied permanently the garden grounds or the fishing grounds of another people.

No reprisals were taken by the Lau people in the matter of men killed on accusation of witchcraft. It was felt that their death was deserved. The existence of a word *tago* (to kill an innocent person, kill for no reason at all), shows that a distinction was made in homicides. Such a killing of an innocent man provoked hostilities.

During the time of their presence in the north-east lagoon, the Lau people have acquired garden ground on the foothills above the lagoon. They have come into possession of the land in two ways: (1) by marriage with the daughters of hill men; (2) by clearing tracts of country which were primitive forest. Where they married women from the neighbouring hills they would be free to work the garden ground belonging to the families of their wives. According to the universal Mala custom, a man's daughters share equally with his sons in the right to work the garden ground which is the family property. A daughter, on marriage, does not forfeit this right, but ordinarily she transfers her labour to the land owned by her husband's family. Her children normally would not in actual practice claim a right to a share in their mother's land, but would work with her on their father's land. If, however, one of them went to live in his mother's old home he would have land there belonging to him where he could work without fear of gainsaying. The Lau husband of the first generation of island builders had no garden ground of his own to work, and entered into possession of his wife's share in garden ground belonging to her family. The lower foothills above the lagoon seem never to have carried a big population, and the Lau newcomers were undisturbed in their work in the gardens. When Leo began to build Sulu Vou the primitive forest was standing on the site of what to-day is the garden ground of the Sulu Vou people.

The Government had a difficult task in the pacification of the Mala peoples, and in the carrying out of the enactments which they drew up for the administration of the islands. There were no paramount chiefs with whom to confer, no council of elders in the various places, who could be entrusted with the establishment of law and order. The method employed has been the choosing of men here and there who have been given the position of "village policemen," or who have been entrusted with the general oversight of a large portion of country. One would have no quarrel with this system, provided the men chosen were already chiefs, either head chiefs or subsidiary chiefs. It is granted that a head chief in a given place may not be a proper kind of person to take over from the Government. It often happens that a head chief is a person who has no power of asserting himself, whereas one lower in rank may have the necessary qualities. However, it is incontestable that men have been appointed who had no claims whatever to chiefhood, and that in some cases their only qualification has been that they could talk English.

The inevitable result has been the breaking down of the old-time respect both for the chiefs, and also for the observance of those traditions and customs which kept native society together, and which were of a part with the position of the chiefs. Public opinion now no longer functions everywhere as the great deterrent upon improper action, and looseness of conduct among individuals is on the increase. The control has been shifted to the Government. It is still not too late to adopt some plan whereby the people would be enabled to exercise some sort of control over matters which formerly were decided by the force of public opinion, and by traditional custom. If this were done, self-reliance would be fostered, and a healthy state of things engendered. The general respect of the people of Mala for law and order was clearly shown in the fact that thousands of the men of the north end expressed their repudiation of the murder of the Government party by the Koio people. The Lau people to-day, with their facilities for movement and their sense of unity, would afford an excellent medium for the trying out of an experiment in local government.

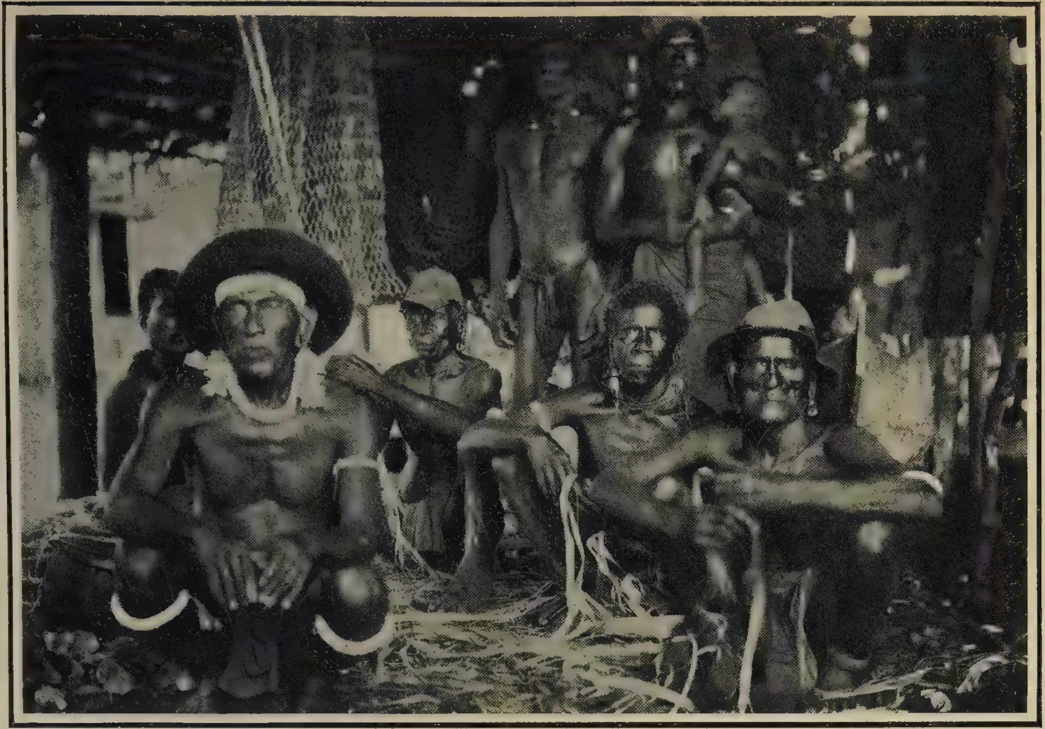
The chiefs in Lau are still responsible for the carrying out of the big feasts, and these feasts are the most important things that occur in the social life of the communities as a whole. The fishing grounds are all the property of chiefs, as also are the fishing-nets. Technically, the garden ground is also their property; but in practice the family of a given chief is free to work the garden ground. Each chief has his share of the garden ground available, which he and his wives work, and all those who are of one stock with him have their share also. Presumably they inform him of their intention to work this or that piece of the common garden ground. The chiefs of the Tolo people do not own all the available garden ground in their neighbourhood but have their own property, and a big chief who owns much money and has many pigs will also own much garden ground. Every family in Tolo owns its own garden ground.

The chiefs are the wealthy members of the community. In Lau they amass money through their ownership of the fishing-nets. The ordinary daily catch is for the benefit of the family, the fish being sold or exchanged for foodstuffs at shore markets. If a Tolo chief is giving a feast, he arranges with a Lau chief for a supply of fish, and the money paid is for the chief's own private purse. In the porpoise-hunting the major portion of the porpoise-teeth is handed to the chiefs.

There is no paying of tribute to chiefs in Lau or Tolo. In Tolo a chief amasses money through his ownership of large tracts of garden ground. The people work with him in his gardens, and the crop is sold to Lau chiefs who are making a feast. Also the canarium almonds, at the time of ripe nuts, August-September, are put into receptacles of bamboo by the people for the hill chiefs, and these are sold to the shore folk. When I was at Fou Ii'a several chiefs of Sulu Vou went off with a party to their fishing grounds on the island Ngwalulu, in order to fish with nets, their intention being to trade the fish caught for canarium almonds and shell-moneys. The almonds would be used later for purposes of a feast. Women accompanied the party in order to cook the fish when caught, and to take it in canoes to the markets.

It was the chiefs in Lau who decided upon the waging of war, or the making of reprisals for any insult offered to them or their people. They themselves accompanied war parties and fought with them. In the event of blood-money being offered for the killing of a person, the provision of such moneys was the business of the chiefs. The possession of much wealth by a chief acted as a deterrent upon those who wished to kill any of his people for any reason. In the event of any such homicide occurring, reprisals would be instituted by the putting out of blood-moneys, and the killers would be harried in their turn. In Lau chiefs hung together, and an insult offered by strangers to one of the islands was made a common business.

The chiefs of the various islands quarrelled among themselves. Angasi kao, the present head chief of Sulu Vou, after a quarrel with one of his fellow chiefs, went off in a fit of sulks to Ngwalo with his wives and a few of his



THE CHIEFS OF SULU VOU ISLAND

THOUGH OLD MEN THEY ARE BUSY MAKING NETS FOR THE FISHING. THE STRING IS PREPARED FROM BARK OBTAINED ON THE MAINLAND. THE ELDER MEN LIKE TO SHADE THEIR EYES WITH OLD HATS.

people. Huts were erected, and the party stayed there for a considerable time. During his absence the other chiefs remained at Sulu Vou. While Angasi kao was at Ngwalo his son died there, and he was loath to remain any longer. Moreover, he found life at Ngwalo very dull, there being no one to talk to! A reconciliation was effected by the estranged "brothers" giving presents of money and food to each other, and then eating together. The priest of Sulu Vou, himself a "brother" of the two disputants, prayed to the ancestral ghosts for a proper reconciliation between the two.

A chief's body is held in reverence. No one may cross over his legs: to do so is to despise him, being tantamount to a declaration of the infidelity of his wife. No one may reach anything from above his head. If a gecko lizard dirts upon a chief's head, he offers a reward to anyone who will kill it. To desecrate his fishing-net by cursing it, or to damage it wilfully in any way, would lead to war or homicide.

The eldest son of a chief is his father's successor. There is no feast held on his succession; feasts are religious things connected with the worship of the ancestral ghosts. In the event of the death of the eldest son, the second son will be the heir. Should a chief have no male heir, his brother, or his brother's son will become his heir. A chief's first wife is bought for him by his father. If he wishes for a second or a third wife later on, he has to buy them for himself.

The Lau chiefs work hard and are never idle. Even the oldest among them has always some piece of work on hand. New nets have to be made; the net in use may have been torn and stands in need of mending. There are canoes to be patched, or new canoes to be made. In the picture on page 88 the elder chiefs of Sulu Vou may be seen at work in the shed. Some are stripping bark for twine, others are rolling it on their thighs into string, others are making a new net. The chiefs are experts at canoe-making, doubtless owing to long practice, and it is not an uncommon thing for them to earn money by canoe-making. While a chief is still in his prime he accompanies the party that is going out with his net, but as he grows older his sons or brothers take his place.

An instance of the general peaceable character of the Lau peoples is afforded by the appointment of one of the chiefs to be Aofia. The word in itself denotes quietness, as is shown by the use of the term *ro iu aofia* (twin boys), these being said not to cry. In Tolo the word *Aofia* denotes a big chief, and carries no reference to any quality of peacefulness of disposition as it does in Lau. The Lau Aofia was a man of chiefly rank, an actual chief at the time of his appointment, or the son of a chief, who was formally dedicated to be the embodiment in himself of peace. The person chosen must be one who is known to be of quiet disposition, gentle, and not given to quarrelling, a tractable man, and not easily provoked. After his appointment he must not enter the beu at Sulu Vou where the war-bow belonging to the war ghost, Sina Kwao, is kept, nor must he enter the beu aabu, for there the sacrifices for war were offered.

He was to be surrounded with an atmosphere of peace. The motive underlying the appointment of an Aofia was that there should be present among the Lau peoples one whose influence was exercised to keep the peace. The succession does not appear to have been maintained regularly, but at least four men have occupied the position since the days of Leo of Sulu Vou. The names of the first three are: Vuvura to'ou, Leo's second son; Fili 'ei, son of Vuvura; Sisibua, a younger son of Fili 'ei. The last Aofia was a chief of Saua. The first three of these were also priests of the ancestral worship on Sulu Vou. It was to the interest of the Aofia to maintain peace, for it was held that if peace was broken the ancestral ghosts would kill the Aofia. Doubtless his efforts would be directed mainly towards the maintenance of peace between the Lau peoples, who felt themselves to be all one family. The opposition of the ancestral ghosts would not be likely to manifest itself in the case of war between Lau and Tolo. It was the introduction of firearms that caused a break in the succession of the Aofia, and set the Lau peoples fighting among themselves.

The appointment of the Aofia took place at a big maoma feast, when people from every artificial island would be present. A certain man was agreed upon by all the chiefs from Suu to Ataa Cove, and at the feast the priest hung an areca nut skin in his ear by way of his outward dedication to the office. The Aofia also bore the name, 'Ota (Areca nut). All through Mala the areca nut is used as an emblem of peace, and is an inseparable accompaniment of feasts. Also, the orators at a feast grasp a spray of the nuts as they make their oration, and charge the visitors to keep the peace. The Aofia at Sulu Vou had a beu alongside the beu containing Sina Kwao's relics, and next to the beu aabu. He stood outside his beu for his dedication. The areca nut used was cut open with a black-lip pearl shell, the shell that was used to peel taros or yams. This again was symbolical of peace and prosperity.

The Aofia had certain privileges belonging to his position. He alone might use a gourd for a lime-box ; everyone else had to be content with a bamboo. These bamboos are closed with a piece of bark-cloth, which fits in tightly and keeps the lime and the lime-stick from falling out. The gourd has an opening just large enough to accommodate a lime-stick. The Aofia alone might rattle his lime-stick, playing a tune on the lip of the gourd as he sat at the door of his beu. He was thus a perpetual reminder of peace. If anyone else rattled his lime-stick on his bamboo, he incurred the enmity of the ghosts whose heads were kept in the beu. When the Aofia walked through the village, the women bent down and stooped as they passed him. Those who failed to do so had to pay him a fine on demand.

The existence of the Aofia among the Lau peoples bears witness to their sense of their essential unity, and to their desire to live in peace among themselves, even if it does not prove that they were, in actual fact, an altogether peaceable and peaceful people before the coming of the white man.

The people of each artificial island can all lay claim to a connexion by birth with the chief or chiefs of the island. They are all members of one big family. The chief of an island never speaks of the rest of the people on the island as his " people," in the sense of their being his dependants. The Sa'a word *apoloa* (commoners, dependants), has no real Lau equivalent.

In anything that affects the honour or the welfare of a Lau island its people all act as one man : their interests are all bound up together. The fact of their descent and the circumstances of their life, living as they do in such restricted areas, make them all one. Each island, nevertheless, has certain men on it who are outsiders, men who have taken up their residence on the island, fugitives from justice or from persecution elsewhere, or young men from the hills who have been attracted to the island life. These men are spoken of as *neena*, a word meaning " poor," but carrying the further meaning of " unprotected." In the event of any person being required as a victim, one of these unprotected men might be killed. Such a contingency might arise in connexion with the practice called *faaabua*, where a man who has been put to shame can only satisfy his honour by a homicide. The outsider living on the island is poor and unprotected ; he has no relatives at hand to take up his cause ; and if he is killed he leaves no money behind which could be used as blood-money by anyone who wished to avenge his death.

CHAPTER FOUR

Marriage

THE Lau man does not make an early marriage. Both bride and bridegroom are of full age when the marriage negotiations are first taken in hand. The groom is probably a little older than the bride, but, judging from the appearance of the unmarried girls, one would say that, as a rule, they attain the age of twenty-four or twenty-five years before they marry. The salutation addressed to a chief's wife bears this out : " She of full growth with hanging breasts, She with breasts like a young coco-nut." Despite their age and full growth, the custom is for the fathers on each side to make the marriage arrangements for the two young people. In these days, owing to the infiltration of European ideas, the practice is growing of young people making advances to one another, and matches are arranged without the intervention of the parents. Even in former days a girl might express her liking for a young man by taking him food. The parents, seeing this, would arrange a match.

The custom of the people is that a father looks for a wife for his son. This is called *iroa geni* (look for a girl). When he has found a suitable girl, he secures her for his son by giving one shell-money to her parents. This is known as *alu faafia* (put round). At this stage the amount of the bride-price is decided on. The Lau term for buying a bride is *foe*, which means " to hang up," and *fofɔelaa* (hanging up) is the ceremony of displaying the bride-price on the day of taking away the bride. The length of time that elapses between the betrothal and the taking of the bride to her future home is dependent on the provision of the bride-price and also on the supplies of food. Not more than six months are required for growing the taros, the main foodstuff used, and the boy's father will have had the moneys of the bride-price either ready or in sight at the time of the betrothal. These things form a subject of talk in the beu, and each man knows what amount of money he is likely to get from his " brothers " for the bride-price.

When all is ready, notice is sent to the bride's people that a party will arrive on such-and-such a day to fetch the bride. This fetching is spoken of as *dao uria geni* (come for the girl). The counting of days is done by making knots in a line, or by making cuts on a stick. In the fetching of the bride the two parties are clearly distinguished by name; the groom's party is called *bali 'ana ngwane* (the man's side), the bride's party *bali 'ana geni* (the girl's side). The groom does not go with them to fetch the bride; partly, it is said, out of shyness, and partly because it is not the custom. The absence of the bridegroom from the party may possibly have its roots in a condition of things belonging to a much earlier state of society. His father and mother are both of the party, as are the father's brothers, and a number of the boys and girls of his bara. The moneys for the bride-price are taken in the canoes, and a quantity of bark-cloth as well. This cloth, along with certain moneys, forms a present which the groom's mother makes to the mother of the bride. The making of bark-cloth has now ceased, and its place in the ceremony in these days is taken by English cloth.

The visiting party is careful to remove all body ornaments before leaving home. Should anyone be wearing an ornament on arrival, the girls of the bride's party will pounce on him and annex it at once. The visitors are met at the landing-place, and a mock fight ensues. They are hit by the home-party with missiles of various kinds: stones, sticks, and short spears made for the occasion. It is all done in play, but the fight is sustained and people are hurt at times. The local chief calls a halt when he thinks things have gone far enough. If he sees that anyone of the landing-party has been hurt, he makes it up to him by a present of porpoise teeth.

This custom of a mock fight at the time of fetching a bride is not confined to the shore folk. The hill people lie in wait beside the paths leading to the bride's village, and throw spears at the groom's party as they come up the narrow tracks. The reception accorded to a visiting party at such a time in the hills is said to be much worse than what takes place amongst the shore folk. No local explanation is offered of the custom. To one like myself, accustomed to the quieter methods adopted at such times in Little Mala, where the bride is fetched by women and girls, who sally forth with all their finery on, this mock fight and rough play came as a veritable surprise.

Mr. A. M. Hocart associates this mimic conflict with the sporting conflicts held at the accession of a king. Dr. Codrington (*M.A.*, p. 240) gives instances of similar fights which occur at the taking of a bride amongst the matrilineal peoples in southern Melanesia. The mock fight, then, on Mala can only be a survival from the days when the dual organization obtained amongst the ancestors of the people either on Mala or elsewhere.

The next stage of the Lau marriage ceremony, on the day of fetching the bride, consists of hanging up the moneys of the bride-price for the inspection of the bride's party. A man of the groom's party takes the bag containing the money, and squatting on the ground he proceeds to draw the moneys out of it one by one. As he draws each one out he counts aloud: "One, two, three," etc., and hands them to a man of the other side, who hangs them up in the open; hence the name *foe* (hang up), used for the bride-price. The local people count them and inspect them.

The groom's mother now does her part. She produces one shell-money, a fathom in length, together with a thousand porpoise teeth, and wrapping these in a bundle of bark-cloth hands them to the bride's mother as a present.

The present takes its name from the cloth, and is called "a bundle of cloth." This present is extra to the bride-price, and no return present is made; but the bride, on leaving finally, is given one or two shell-moneys from the bride-price and a thousand porpoise teeth, and probably this is regarded as more or less of an equivalent for the present made to her mother. The bride does not use for herself the moneys given to her, but they are kept against the day when she or her future husband may be ill, and there is need of an offering to the priest to intercede for their recovery. She may use it to buy food for her children, or for herself at the time of her confinement. There is no giving of food to the groom's party in the bride's home.

The bride-elect returns the same day with the visiting party, and with her go a number of her "sisters" and "brothers." All of these are to stay with her in her future home, pending the time when the food required by both parties for the final ceremony shall be ready. The virgins who bear her company all wear their ornaments, but the bride-elect is the most adorned of them all. On her head she wears a woven ornament whitened with lime and called *kwao* (white), from its colour. The larger of the two decorated combs of North Mala is thrust into her hair. She has a shell ring inserted in a hole in the top of her ears, a decorated earstick half-way down the lobe, and a reed in the bottom of the lobe. A string of porpoise teeth is tied over her head and round the jaws. A circlet of porpoise-teeth is worn across the forehead, and enclosing her neck is a necklace made of a thousand porpoise teeth. Through her nose is thrust a thick round nose-stick of clam shell. On her upper arms she wears armlets of woven yellow adiadi, together with a number of flat arm-rings of trochus shell. Round her wrists and ankles are plaited circles of dyed red cane (*obi*). She is still quite naked, for she is not a wife (*afe*) yet, but only a *harii* (a maiden), and she wears strips of the dyed cane round her waist, as do all the maidens of her company. Later on she will assume the cloth which is the sign of wifehood.

Round her knee are tiny shell beads woven into a pattern, and on her fingers she has a number of rings made of obi. Her final and most distinguishing ornament is a bandolier made of white and red shell-moneys, worn over the left shoulder and under the right arm. The full tale of these ornaments belongs, of course, to a chief's daughter only, but every bride-elect is decked out with whatever her family can afford. The bridal ornaments are put on in readiness for the arrival of the groom's party, and are worn right up till the actual wedding.

When the bride arrives at her future home she is not allowed to tread on the ground. Her mother-in-law lays down new pandanus mats for her to walk on from the canoe up to the house. As the girl proceeds, the groom's mother places a mat for her, picking up the one behind and putting it in front. This honourable treatment is quoted by her should she have a quarrel with another woman at any time. She silences her opponent by saying: "I walked on new mats. I was not stolen from my home."

As yet she has no house of her own, but is taken to her father-in-law's house. Her father has accompanied her, bringing much food with him. The groom's people have also prepared food. This is eaten that night by the company of boys and girls, both local and visiting. This feast is known as *ruufi luma* (entering the women's quarters). The night is passed by the young people in one another's company. Songs are sung the whole night through, the boys sitting by themselves and the girls by themselves. The sexes do not mix. When singing, they sit with their arms round each other's shoulders, boys caressing boys, girls caressing girls. This is called *gwae*, and they are said to *gwaea nguu*, *nguu* meaning "song." The bride-elect is known as *geni gwagwaea* (she whose shoulders are encircled with arms). There is no thought of immorality occurring at these times between the young people.

Some of the songs may be ribald or indecent from our point of view, but they are not accompanied by licentious behaviour. In singing, a low note is called *bulu* (black), and a high note *kwao* (white). These names are taken from charcoal marks made on a plank to indicate the tune: heavy down-strokes being " black," and light up-strokes " white."

No restrictions are placed on the meeting of bride and bridegroom-elect. On the day of her arrival, the bride makes a present of food to the bridegroom. If she fails to do this he suspects that something is wrong, and that she does not want to marry him. He, on his part, makes her a present of areca nuts and betel pepper, and, nowadays, of tobacco. He and she meet in the company of boys and girls. There is no indiscriminate mixing together of the sexes, and no handling of one another. After a day or two the bride and bridegroom are at ease in one another's company. They meet in public, and show they have overcome their shyness by taking materials for the betel-mixture from one another's bags.

The boy has donned his ornaments by the time the girl has arrived. He, too, has a kwao on his head, and he wears the smaller of the two decorated Mala combs with the tail-feather of a hornbill stuck into it. His ears have the same decorations as the bride's, save that he has a plaited reed instead of a shell-ring in the top. He also wears the nose-stick, and has a clam-shell ornament in the tip of the nose as well. A string of white cowries is tied round his forehead. On his arms and wrists he wears the same coloured ornaments as does the bride, but his arm-rings are round. Round his waist is a belt of rattan cane, with a pattern worked on it with red and yellow strips of obi and adiadi. Dyed red cane is plaited round his legs below the knee, and he wears " bandages " of plaited coloured work from his ankles upwards. In modern days he has taken to wearing a crescent of gold-lip pearl-shell on his neck.

On the morning after the arrival of the bride the whole company goes ashore to get wood and water. The wood is distributed on return to the members of the family along with uncooked food. The preliminary ceremony is now over. The bride-elect and her party stay six months with the groom's people. They take their part in the life of the place, and help in the provision of food. When the time is ended, the bride and her people return home in preparation for the next stage in the proceedings. On a summons from the groom's father, the girl is taken by her father for the second time to her new home. The actual wedding is now about to take place. Both sides have prepared food, but the bride's party brings far the greater amount. They are making the true return for the bride-price; all eyes are on them when they land, and the quantity of food is assessed. There is no return made of pigs to cover the bride-price as is done at Sa'a. Pigs in Lau are sacred, and the eating of them is a rite proper to feasts made in honour of the ancestral ghosts.

The visiting party brings quantities of raw foodstuffs, three to four thousand taros, two thousand yams, five hundred baskets of canarium almonds, three hundred coco-nuts, and a large supply of cooked fish. These are all set out publicly, and are duly appraised. A distribution is made, and all who contributed to the bride-price receive a share in the order of their importance. The home party provides cooked vegetable food, and this is served out as well. After distribution, the food is taken off to the various beus and to the women's quarters and there is cooked and eaten. It is not eaten together in public owing to religious ideas, to fear of the anger of ghosts, and to the ever-present fear of witchcraft. This setting out of food is called *baraa* (the assuming of relationship-at-law), or *falenga* (making a present).

When the food is set out, an interchange of presents takes place between the bride's people and the home people. This is known as kalo. The girls stand in two lines facing one another, and the girls of the bride's party give their opposites twenty taros each, five bundles of canarium almonds, twenty coco-nuts. In return they receive a present of bark-cloth and body ornaments. The local men and boys also make presents to the girls of the bride's people, giving them ornaments: armlets, combs, obi, porpoise teeth, etc. There is much slapping and rough play, with shouting and laughing. The boys come in for their share, too. When the presents have been made, the local chief orders a hundred yams or taros to be given to the boys. These are snatched up, and the boys rush off and cook their share. The bride's father and party return home that night.

On the day of her second arrival the girl is given an apron of bark-cloth, dark blue in colour, measuring some twelve inches by nine. This she ties on as a sign that she is about to enter wifehood. After six days her people return, and she changes her dark blue apron for one jet-black in colour. To-day blue denim cloth is used instead of the bark-cloth. By putting it on she is said to *masa*. This last ceremony is the final one, and is spoken of as *faaafelaa* (making a wife), and *'isi geni* (finality with the woman).

The young married pair may occupy the home of the bridegroom's parents. They on their part vacate their house, and go and live in a small hut alongside. It is only necessary, really, to provide for the mother, the father has always a beu where he can live with the men-folk. The newly married man, if he wishes for a house for himself, will set about gathering rocks from the lagoon, and building a site for his house on the edge of the island near the house of his parents.

The majority of the Lau men have but the one wife at a time, but the chiefs may have up to four wives. They are wealthy men and can afford to pay the bride-price. No ceremonies take place in the case of such extra marriages; the bride-price, a small one, is paid, and there is no return made. Such marriages bring no *éclat* with them and cause no joy to the people. The people acquiesce in the chief's action because he is the chief, and none of them thinks of gainsaying him. The extra wives live in different houses for peace' sake. All of them work together in the chief's gardens. There is a good deal of jealousy between the wives, and much nagging takes place. Angasi kao of Sulu Vou beat one of his wives because she would persist in answering back. The beating was so severe that the woman subsequently died. Some wives, however, lived at peace with one another, and there is a case on record where a chief's four wives lived together in one house. The husband was just and fair to them in the distribution of food and presents. The head-wife in this case did the distributing.

As stated above, the bride-price has increased among the Lau people. Formerly, for a chief's daughter, the bride-price was ten shell-moneys and a thousand porpoise teeth. Now they ask up to thirty and even fifty in some cases. For a girl not of the main chief's family, the bride-price was three shell-moneys and two or three hundred porpoise teeth. The present price is three to six moneys and up to five hundred teeth.

Only one shell-money and a hundred teeth used to be paid for a bride for widowers, but two to three moneys are now asked, with a similar rise in porpoise teeth. A widower is generally left to his own devices in the matter of providing himself with another wife. If he is a good worker, and works well with and for his people, they will help him in the provision of money for a bride-price. If a man who is a widower attaches himself to a chief, and helps well with what work there is in hand, the chief will provide the bride-price for him should he wish to marry again. In general practice widowers marry widows. A widow is called *'oru*, as is also a widower; to distinguish between them the words *geni* (female), *ngwane* (male), are added.

Formerly a man might marry two sisters, *i.e.* after the death of the first wife he might take her own sister to wife, or the two might even be his wives at the one time. A certain Tolo chief married two sisters, who were twins, and they were fellow-wives to him at the one time. The practice of having more than one wife at a time is not favoured by the Solomon Island Government to-day, and prosecutions have occurred in recent days of men who have married a second wife during the lifetime of the first. A Lau man might marry his deceased brother's wife if she was still young. If she had several children he would not marry her.

On every artificial island provision is made for the complete segregation of women during their menstrual periods. At Sulu Vou the accommodation consists of two or three huts, which are built on a part of the island facing the north-east. Be the island never so small, there is always a piece of it reserved for menstruous women. The name given to these places of separation, both in Lau and in Tolo, is *bisi*. During her stay of three days in the bisi, a woman is spoken of as *ni bisi*, *ni* being the feminine article. or *ai too i bisi* (the woman who is in the bisi). There is no ceremony connected with a woman's first menstruation. In Tolo, separate huts for menstruous women are built apart from the dwelling-houses.

During her period of separation a Lau woman is expected to provide herself with her own wood, and with water and food. To do this she must go ashore, for the island has none of these things. Canoes are tabu to her at these times; if she used one it would become ceremonially defiled, and would be destroyed immediately. Accordingly, the women make rafts for themselves, and it is a common thing to see a raft with three or four women seated on it, propelling themselves with poles, and with the raft half submerged. When they reach the shore they must not land at the ordinary landing-place, nor must they use the main paths up the foothills, nor are they allowed to draw water at the places used by the other women. They pole themselves along to some out-of-the-way landing, where water is available for bathing and for filling their bamboo water-carriers. Fallen trees in the neighbourhood furnish them with what wood they want for cooking, and in some cases they have small taro plots in the neighbourhood of these landings, where they can get a little food. The prohibition as to the use of canoes by women at these times does not extend to the canoes of the Christian women, and for a sum of ten porpoise teeth the Christians hire out a canoe to them. Also, the bisi women of Sulu Vou land alongside the Christian village of Fou Ii'a and walk up to a stream to bathe and get water and firewood. When in the bisi they do not remain out of sight, nor do they avoid observation. It is actual contact with them by the men-folk that is avoided. They come near to the dividing fence and eagerly watch what is going on. Should any women in the bisi be still suckling their children, the children are taken to them; children of two years are still given the breast.

The ceremonial defilement conveyed by touching a bisi woman, or by handling anything which she has used, or by going into the bisi itself, does not apply to the young unmarried men and boys. The boys and girls of North Mala exercise a regular camaraderie between one another without any suspicion whatever of licentious behaviour. The girls will go in the same canoe with boys of their island, and both sexes work together in the gardens. At home they sit apart, the boys in the beus and the girls in the married people's quarters; but the boys freely visit the quarters, especially when they want food. When the girls are in the bisi their "brothers" visit them to have a yarn or to sing.

There is a prohibition in Lau on eating yams and on using the betel mixture anywhere in the neighbourhood of the opening in the wall leading to the bisi. This prohibition is not attached to the eating of taros.

To-day the women of Sulu Vou and Ada Gege give birth to their children at a place on the shore between Fou Ii'a and Ada Gege. It has been mentioned above that several generations back the present site of Ada Gege was used for a maternity island by the Sulu Vou women. When Ada Gege became a regular island home for men, the maternity site was moved to the mainland. The ceremonial uncleanness attaching to childbirth is too great to allow of any possible mishaps in the way of contact with the mother and child. Formerly, on Ada Gege, the Sulu Vou mother had at least a hut to shelter her during her delivery, but exigencies of situation prevented the erection of any such shelter in the new place chosen. The whole foreshore for a mile or so each way is a mangrove swamp. Opposite Ada Gege there is a good beach, and at Fou Ii'a, where the Christians of Sulu Vou live, there is also a good landing. But both of these are in constant use by men of Ada Gege or Sulu Vou, and no births could be allowed to take place there. Whatever place was chosen, it must not be far away, for after childbirth the mother had to pole herself and her child home on a raft. So a flat outcrop of rock was chosen in the mangroves. No attempt has been made to build up a platform on which to put a hut, and at high tide the place is awash. The outcrop of rock is very limited in size, and all round it is mud and mangroves. If the tide is very high, the expectant mother must go to a spot farther up in the mangroves.

During the actual parturition the mother may not be touched by the hands of any of the women accompanying her. To touch her at such a time would entail going into thirty days' confinement along with her. The friends she has brought with her stand ten or twelve feet off, while she crouches on the rock, covering herself with a pandanus umbrella and awaiting her delivery. If it is night, one of the women will hold a torch of dry coco-nut leaves, which burns with a bright light. Should it be raining, or blowing strong, no shelter of any sort is available. Mosquitoes and sandflies are present in swarms, crabs run about over the rocks, the mangrove branches are tossed to and fro in the wind, the sea comes creeping steadily up. The woman has provided herself with a sliver of bamboo to cut the umbilical cord, or one of the bystanders throws her a bamboo, which she splits for the purpose. If it is her first child, her friends who are present direct her how and where to cut the cord. The end of the cord is not tied up after cutting. The umbilical cord and the placenta are buried on the place of confinement.

After her delivery, the mother wraps the child in a pandanus umbrella, mounts a raft, clasps the child to her breast with one arm, and poles her way off home, squatting on the raft. If it is night, her women friends escort her home, a canoe going on each side of her, directing her as to the course. If it is day, she is able to get along without an escort. Poling with one hand is slow work, but she gets home in time. Ada Gege is only four hundred yards away from the maternity site, but Sulu Vou is over half a mile. None of the men think anything of the wonderful endurance of these mothers, no fears are felt as to their ultimate safety, no regard is paid by anyone to the infant exposed thus to wind and weather. Deaths, however, at such time, either of mother or child, are most rare. These stern conditions, as we should consider them, are the lot of nearly all mothers among the Lau peoples. The only maternity island proper is the one in Ataa Cove; everywhere else the women at their delivery have the same experience as those of Sulu Vou and Ada Gege. The Christian mothers of Fou Ii'a have a maternity hut provided for them in a secluded place, and their lot is thus made easier. After delivery they stay thirty days in the village before going to work.

The mother and child stay in the bisi on their island homes for a period of thirty days. This rule holds also in the case of those who live on the maternity island proper. The counting of the days is done by means of knots made in a piece of string. During the thirty days the mother may not eat any fish at all, and this prohibition against the eating of fish lasts till the time the child begins to eat. The father, however, is allowed to eat small fish once the thirty days are over and the mother has returned to her own home. But he cannot eat of any large fish till such time as the child begins to eat. Sexual intercourse does not take place till the child is weaned. During the period of thirty days the mother may eat those taros that have a tuber above ground, and also bananas. Special taro is bought for her at the markets on shore. Previous to her confinement, she makes an arrangement with the hill women to cultivate a taro patch for her, and the tubers are brought down to the markets. These special taro plots are called lamaa. The men will have nothing to do with them. A difficulty was caused a few years back by a pig that broke into one of these lamaa and ate up the taros. The hill people were at a loss what to do, for no one would eat such a pig for fear of swellings occurring on his body. Such swellings are always attributed to some breach of traditional religious observance. The Christians of Fou Ii'a purchased the pig, and gave it the name of 'Ani lamaa (Eat up the lamaa). Food is also obtained for the mother from the Christian women during the period of thirty days. The price paid in this case is usually English cloth. The mother does her own cooking, and has no one to mind her baby. Also she has to fetch her own wood and water. In the words of the Lau people she has to *ulafu* (work very hard).

On the thirtieth day the child is fetched by the maiden sister of the mother, and is carried to the mother's home. The sister holds in her hands a bundle of peeled sticks taken from the *ula* and *alu* trees. The ula is the big littoral tree, a hardwood, called in Florida *gugula*. The alu is the tree commonly planted on the artificial islands in order, as they say, to bind the stones together with its roots. It is spoken of as *lalina fera* (the root of the island). The use of the peeled sticks is, therefore, a symbolical ceremony. The child is to be strong, like the ula, and to bind together into unity the people of the island, just as the alu binds its stones. At the bidding of the husband, the bundle of sticks has previously been charmed by the maiden sister, who says an incantation over them. Holding the child and the sticks, she comes out of the bisi and walks slowly to the mother's home, throwing down the sticks as she goes. The last stick must fall at the doorway. This ceremony takes place at sunrise, and is called *uri feralaa* (the treading of the village). The mother now washes herself and shaves her head bare. The hair is then burned. She takes off the old apron she has been wearing, and removes any cane armlets which she may have had on her arms. She is now new, and has done with all that has gone before. A new apron is put ready for her, and she ties it on. A bundle of sticks of ula and alu is provided for her also. She leaves the bisi, and entering the fera she throws her sticks down as she goes. If they are not sufficient in number she breaks them, taking care that the last piece falls at her house-door. A feast follows, called *fangaa ruua* (the feast of entry). Married men may not eat of this feast, but the boys and the unmarried men eat of it with the women. In the case of a chief's child this feast is on a big scale.

A child may be given the name of its paternal grandfather. Should the child cry before it receives a name, divination is resorted to in order to ascertain what ancestral spirit is causing it to cry. The names of the dead ancestors are called till the child ceases crying at the mention of a certain name. This name is thereupon given to the child, it being understood that it was this particular ancestor's ghost who was making the child cry. Some man, other than the child's father, may direct that the child be named after him. Again, the name given to a child may be dictated by some outstanding thing that has happened to the father, or by some humorous occurrence that has taken place lately, or by some incident known to the people. Thus, after the fight between Funaa Vou and Sulu Vou, where the only "fighting-man" killed was a dog, which swam from Ada Gege to attack the Funaa Vou people on the shore, a baby that was born was named Oli'ana kui (Return home with a dog). No ceremony takes place at the naming of the child. There is no idea among the Lau people that a child born to its parents after the death of a previous child is a reincarnation of the dead child. The first-born son of a chief is spoken of as *inamouri* (living root). A child whose parents are dead is *inamae* or *inomae* (dead root).

Adoption is practised in Lau in the case of a child whose mother has died in confinement or during her thirty days' separation. The general term for adoption is *sului ngwela* (to lift up a child). The person who adopts is a "sister" of the mother of the child. This woman, on adopting a motherless child, enters the bisi and herself undergoes the thirty days' separation. From the fact that she goes out of the village into the bisi the adoption is also known as *haga uria ngwela* (going out after [to get] the child).

There is a practice in Lau of buying a grown lad to replace a dead chief. The boy is adopted into the family and is given the name of the dead chief. The practice is known as *tafo ngwela* (buying a boy). It was told me that the Lau people had first heard of the practice from Sa'a, where instances of such adoption had occurred, and had approved of it as a good custom. A Lau chief who has no male heir does not adopt a boy as his successor. In the ordinary course of events his brother's son will succeed him as chief.

There is no superstition in Lau attaching to the birth of twins. Both of the twins are allowed to live, but the care of them is a burden. Twins are called *iu*, and a person who is a twin speaks of himself as *ro iu* (two iu). Boy twins are known as *ro iu aofia* (quiet twins), boy and girl twins as *ro iu kwekwera* (squalling twins), girl twins as *ro iu mudomu*. If one twin dies, a slab of wood is buried with it to represent the other twin. This is done in order to deceive the ghost of the dead twin and prevent it from summoning the soul of the living twin. There are rocks in North Mala which are known as Twin rocks. If a man or his wife touched one of these rocks, or if its shadow crossed them as they passed, twins would be born to them. One of these rocks is situated at Bita'ama harbour, at the north end of the island, where the Lau porpoise-hunting took place. The rock is close to the landing-place, and doubtless it was carefully avoided during the time the people were there for the hunting!

A case of the birth of triplets took place during my last stay in the Lau district. Other cases have been recorded elsewhere in North Mala. In the case that came under my notice the husband was a man who had been born in Queensland. His wife died after the third child was born, and he came to me to ask for tinned milk to feed the children. I supplied his wants temporarily, and brought the case to the notice of the Government, suggesting that a bounty be given him in the form of infants' food or tinned milk. Later on he received a present of tinned milk from the Government. However, he found it difficult to rear the children, and two of them died.

Pregnant women are forbidden to eat certain fish, such as those called edaeda, hanga, alulu, malifu. Some of these have big mouths, and it is feared that the eating of them might cause the mouths of the children to gape open wide. Adenoids are not uncommon, and the difficulty of breathing causes the mouth to remain open. The malifu is a red fish caught at night. Women who are suckling children will not eat of crabs, or the flesh of sharks or porpoises, for fear of sores breaking out on the head of the children.

In a case of difficult parturition it is assumed that some man other than the woman's husband has slept on her kauve, or has cohabited with her. Resort is had to divination to discover the name of the man. When taxed with it he confesses and gives money. The birth thereupon takes place.

CHAPTER FIVE

Women and Children

THE marketing of the fish is done by the women. Markets are held early in the morning, and the fish caught the day before must be cooked if they are to keep fresh. Accordingly, leaves for wrapping the fish in are brought every day by women from the gardens on shore. The fish are wrapped in these and are cooked by being placed on hot stones in the oven. Most of the villages hold markets every other day at different places along the coast. The time of going and returning is dependent on the state of the tide. Women manage canoes as well as the men, but their style of paddling is different; women dig the paddles in close alongside the canoe, holding them straight up and down, while men hold the paddles nearly at right angles to the body, and the blade is only just submerged. Women, as a rule, paddle with quicker strokes than men, and it is quite easy to pick out from a distance a canoe paddled by women. The Lau men pole the canoes along, standing up to pole, but the women use the paddle only.

Every morning women and men go ashore from the islands in the canoes to work in the gardens. Men and women occupy the same canoes and, except for fishing, there is no barrier to the use of canoes by women. From sunrise at six o'clock up till about half-past eight one can see a regular procession of canoes leaving the islands. The women may go ashore alone, or they may be accompanied by their husbands. In most cases the elder girls of the family will go with the mother, but the boys cannot be persuaded to go and work. They prefer to play about at home. The canoes may be pulled up on the mainland, or the younger girls will take them back again to the island. The day's work in the gardens varies. From August onwards the men prepare the ground for the yam gardens, doing the heavy chopping of the trees, while the women cut up the fallen timber and burn it. Yams are planted in October, but taro-planting proceeds all the year through. The Lau people have taro gardens on the lower foothills, and the tops of the taros that are pulled on one day are planted the next day. Once a taro garden is prepared, the women do the daily work of pulling what taros are fit to eat and of replanting the tops. The original preparation, the felling of the timber and the making of the fence, is done by the men. In these days women and men go much later to the gardens than their ancestors did in the days when they used only stone tools. The possession of axes and scrub-knives has enabled the people to have much larger gardens, and has considerably lightened their work.

Every woman has to get the water for her household to drink. There is no use of water for cooking ; saucepans have been introduced, but they are not much used. The water is carried in short bamboos not more than two feet in length. The necessity of stowing them upright in the canoes accounts for their shortness. A woman will carry twenty such bamboos on her back, the bands holding them being passed over each shoulder. On reaching the island some of the bamboos are sent to the beus, where the men and boys sleep and live, the rest are taken to the women's quarters. The bamboos belonging to the men are carefully kept separate. The collecting of firewood is also the women's work, and they handle an axe with considerable skill. Dead and fallen trees in the gardens or in the swamps furnish the firewood. It is packed in transverse layers, and is not made into a faggot. Special flat ropes are plaited for carrying firewood and bamboo water-carriers. The loads of firewood are suspended from the shoulders. The tracks leading to the gardens are merely deep ruts, and the rains turn the red clay into a bog. Bare feet are able to get a grip, but it is difficult to walk along the tracks if one is wearing boots, owing to the deep ruts and the slippery clay. The bush overshadows everything, and the sun cannot get to the tracks to dry them. The women, however, come daily along these tracks carrying their heavy loads of wood and water. The unmarried girls share in the work, as do the girls over twelve, with the exception of those who stay at home to mind the younger children and babies.

The Lau women do not carry with them to their work the big woven bags that are carried by the Sa'a women. All that the Lau woman carries is a kauve, thick pandanus leaves which have been held over a fire and then dried in the sun. The making of the kauve is women's work. The leaves are cut off the tree, fitted one into the other and carried home. The thorns on the edges are stripped off, and the leaves sewn together with a creeper, a bone needle being used. The kauve is folded up when finished and put on a stage over the house fire to dry. The pandanus is also used for the making of mats. The daily supply of taros is carried from the gardens in a kauve, and fish for market are wrapped up in it. Shell-fish, gathered in the lagoon, are also put into a kauve. In rain, protection is afforded by the kauve being held over the head, or being hung from the head down the back, like men among us wear sacks. In the latter case the top ends are sewn together. Protection from the sun is afforded to babies and children by holding a kauve over them as they are carried about. A newly born child is wrapped in a kauve. Everybody lies on a kauve at night, and, in case of cold, a kauve is used as a blanket. Every good housewife has a stock of kauve drying over the fire. In addition to the above uses of the kauve, it also serves as wrappings for the dead.

Lau cookery consists mainly of what is called *naare* (roasting on wood embers). There is but little use made of the native ovens except at feast times. Fish used for food is thrown on to a wood fire, and turned from time to time.

Fish for market is wrapped up in leaves for the purpose of carriage, and is then placed on the hot embers. In the case of a big catch, stones are heated by being placed on firewood, and when the fire has burned down, the fish are put on the stones, with leaves below and above, and are left to cook. They may be wrapped in leaves if desired. The absence of coco-nuts, and the comparative scarcity of yams, is largely responsible for the rough style of cooking. The usual daily meal is prepared in the late afternoon, when the women return from the gardens on shore. It consists of taros roasted on coals of wood. A pair of bamboo tongs is used to turn the tubers, or fingers may serve the purpose. Every now and then a tuber is picked out of the fire, held in the tongs, and the charred exterior scraped off. It is then put back to finish. A taro thus roasted makes excellent eating, especially if it is of the kind that has a yellow-coloured flesh. The men frequently prepare their own meal in the beu, and may eat it when they come in with the catch of fish. They are quite free to eat in the married quarters with their wives and children ; or food cooked in their homes may be sent to them to the various beus, the younger boys carrying it in a kauve.

The women and girls sweep the houses out with pieces of lycopodium fern, or with stiff brooms made of the midribs of coco-nut leaves. The spaces in front of and between the houses is also swept with the stiff brooms. The rubbish is all thrown into the sea. The village pigs are fed by the women. Before the Government prohibition on the keeping of pigs was enforced, the village pigs lay in the spaces between the houses, or even in front of the doorway. They ate up all the scraps from the houses, as well as the heads and bones and entrails of the smaller fish. The entrails of the larger fish are cleaned and eaten by the people. In addition, a certain amount of food was brought for the pigs from the mainland. In old days it was true to say that there was little room left to walk in on the artificial islands, for they were full of houses, babies, and pigs ! To-day the pigs have been placed in styes on the mainland, or else they are confined in the narrowed spaces underneath the storehouses for yams, which are built on piles.

One can hardly think that such confinement in narrow spaces is good either for pig or people. The pigs on shore are visited and fed and watered day by day. The introduction of the sweet potato has been a blessing for both people and pigs. The restrictions on pig-keeping have lessened the number of pigs kept by the hill people, and it is rarely now that pigs are found roaming about the hill tracks looking for a garden to devour. In consequence, plots of sweet potatoes are planted now everywhere, and the people are provided with a food that takes only from three to four months to come to maturity. The smaller tubers are fed to the pigs. There is no desire on the part of the people to get their pigs fat and ready for killing as soon as possible. Pigs are eaten only at feasts held definitely in honour of ghosts, *i.e.* dead ancestors ; and when the time for a feast is decided on, attention is given to the feeding of the pigs in order that they may fill out. It may be taken for granted that a pig of any size, *i.e.* of any height, is a pig of some four or five years of age. English pigs are bought occasionally and the breed has now become mixed. There is a regular use of pigs in sacrifice.

The Government regulations as to pig-keeping entail the keeping of pigs in styes, or the prevention of their entering the villages by the erection of fences round the villages. Wooden fences are hard to keep in pig-proof condition, and the rough nature of the country round the hill-villages renders it difficult to fence them off at all. The constant rains cause the clay soil to be waterlogged, and the pigs in styes are up to their middles in mud. Moreover, the hill peoples, unlike the Lau villagers, were unaccustomed to feeding their pigs regularly. They gave them the house-scraps, but the pigs roamed far in the daytime and rooted about for food in the bush, getting their main food in this way. An attempt was made by the hill people to conform to the new regulations, but the general effect of the regulations has been to reduce greatly the numbers of pigs everywhere. The people did not understand the intention of the Government, whatever it may have been, in making the regulations, and after certain feverish attemps to comply with the orders given, they solved the problem in many places by killing off the pigs. One hill man said to me: "Our altars have grown cold. We have no pigs now for sacrifice." In the case of the peoples who live on the foothills, the restrictions have certainly benefited them in one way. They are now able to grow a fair amount of sweet potatoes without having to fence in the plots, and without any fear of raids on them by pigs. On the hills farther up, where the main population is, sweet potatoes will not grow, and the people have no compensation for the loss of their pigs.

The carrying out of religious rites proper, *i.e.* the worship of ancestors, is reserved strictly to the males among the Lau people. Women are not allowed to enter the various club-houses of the men and boys, where the skulls of the dead are kept pending their removal to the ancestral burial-ground, and where the dead are also interred. The parts of the islands by the side of, and in front of, the beu aabu (the central holy house), are tabu to women. The killing and cooking of pigs at the time of local feasts, and the eating of the flesh at the main feast, belong entirely to the men. This restriction does not apply, however, to feasts held elsewhere, women being free, if they wish, to eat of pigs killed at a feast held in another village than their own. The fear of the local ghosts makes it doubtful if women ever eat pork at the big feasts. There is an eating of pigs by women at a women's feast, which is held later than the big feast, but on a small scale. The Sulu Vou men will eat of the pigs killed at Christmas at the Christian villages, but the priests refrain from doing so. Pigs destined for a maoma feast must have been kept separate from women.

The ordinary fishing-nets are avoided by women, lest their touch should cause the net to become ceremonially defiled and to fail to catch fish. The nets are hung to dry on the side of the island where the beus are built. Women going to the shore, or returning, give the nets a wide berth. The turtle-net has a particular sanctity of its own, and may not even be seen by women during the making of it. When it is no longer fit for use it is thrown away into the bae, the burial-ground beside the beu aabu, which no woman ever approaches, or it is hung in the beu aabu. The making of the parts of the ordinary nets may be proceeded with in the women's quarters, but once the nets are complete and are dedicated to the ghosts, the restrictions as to women touching them come into force. Turtle are eaten by women after a clearance has been made on their behalf at a date subsequent to the hanging up of the turtle-net to dry.

Magic, both black and white, is practised by Lau women. The umbilical cord and placenta of a newly born male child are used by women to work harm to men. The charms may be secreted at birth by one of the women attending the mother, or they may be dug up afterwards by some evil-disposed woman. This form of magic is confined to women, for no man will handle the charm if it is offered to him, nor will he go to the maternity place to get it. This form of black magic is called *dorea 'ani buri i ngwela* (charming by means of the placenta of a male child). The process consists of taking a piece of a man's food and burying it in the maternity place along with the placenta, etc. The man so charmed will sicken and die. Further instances of the practice of black magic by women will be found on p. 219. An instance of the practice of sympathetic magic by a girl was given above in connexion with the introduction of the thirty-days-old child to the village. Invocations and incantations for both good and evil purposes are said by women. Women are not numbered among the diviners, but possession by ghosts affects women as well as men.

Women take no part in the public dances which accompany the playing of the pan-pipes, though they are interested spectators of them. However, there is one dance which is danced by women alone. This is called *äu i maku* (the dance of the cloth). The occasion for it is the day of the death of a great chief, and the dancers are his "daughters." The dance is by way of a lament for his death, and the women stand in pairs, holding pieces of bark-cloth in their hands, which they wave like dancers wave the dracæna leaves. No such dance has taken place on Sulu Vou for over forty years.

The voices of the Lau people, whether women or men, are harsh and unmusical. The women have shrill voices, which are raised to a high pitch in expostulation or during any excitement. They are easily excited and their voices are then raised in a shrill sustained cry on a high note. The babel at a fish-market is enough to deafen one. When a death occurs, the women lift up their voices and howl. As one woman weakens another takes it up, and the note is like that of a siren. The first intimation I had of the murders at Sineranggo was the howling of women at Ada Gege, and the noise came to me quite loudly over a distance of seven or eight hundred yards. The strife of tongues is very marked when any matter connected with shell-money is being discussed. Nominally the men own the money, yet when any exchange of moneys is being effected, as *e.g.* with the Langalanga people, who pay new money for old, or when any sale is taking place, *e.g.* of a new canoe, or any question to do with the amount of the bride-price is being discussed, the women take part in the discussions, and state their views with considerable energy, often shouting the men down. It would seem that they are avaricious and drive a hard bargain. Recriminations at such times are apt to lead to trouble.

Strangling is not a practice of the Lau women. A Tolo woman will strangle herself if her husband refuses to give her help, or if she asks for something, *e.g.* tobacco or areca nut, and is refused. On his refusal she says to him : "You can take it (the thing refused) for your wife, then," and proceeds to strangle herself. The strangling is done by putting a noose round her neck and tying the end of a cord to a tree. She then jumps off the tree. There is a story of a chief called Meu of Lao afa, on the hills above Suu, and behind the village Kwalu 'ae, whose forty wives all strangled themselves on the day of his death. Forty is always used of a round number, and in this case the exact number of the wives is perhaps open to doubt. Meu was buried in one grave with all his wives, he lying in the middle, and their bodies all round him. On my asking whether the women died willingly, I was told that an incantation said over them had caused them such sorrow that they all willingly sought death. Meu's son is still alive, so the strangling is not a mere legendary occurrence.

On the death of her husband the Lau widow rubs charcoal on her face and then smears the putty nut over it. This fixes the charcoal and prevents it being rubbed off. She refrains altogether from washing for six months, till such time as the body is exhumed. During this period she remains out of sight in the house. Her hair is not cut, and it hangs in dirty rolls to her neck. She wears a string of "Job's tears" over her shoulder, and a piece of bark-cloth round her neck, with small shell rings tied to it at the sides and in front and back. Her mourning is known as *too bilia* (being dirty). She may abstain from eating of certain foods, or from eating the betel-mixture. The latter is done when her husband had been one who was very fond of eating the betel-mixture. If she comes out at all, it is only in the evening, and then she crawls about on hands and knees so as to avoid notice. When the six months are up and the body is exhumed, she comes out and seats herself at the house-door. After this she bathes and a feast follows.

Widows generally elect to stay on with their children, but occasionally a widow returns to her own people. If a widow remarries, her late husband's people demand a fine, a shell-money. The fine is paid by the second husband. There may be an underlying idea that the husband's death was, in some way, compassed by the wife, but the Tolo phrase used for the money demanded, *duu raua*, make up for the bride-price, looks as if the fine were demanded in exchange for the loss of the woman's services in the gardens, etc.

There are no regular prostitutes among the Lau people. What solicitation is done proceeds, so far as I am aware, from the women and not from the men. A woman will prostitute herself with a number of men at the one time. No money passes. Such a prostitute might be killed as being a menace to the place. The word used for a woman who thus prostitutes herself is *sesele*, and the Lau people say that both the word and the practice were imported from Gao, Ysabel Island. The To'oa Baita people, however, say that Däi, Gower Island, was the place whence the name and the practice were imported. In most cases of adultery it is the woman in Lau, as it is at Sa'a, who does the soliciting.

The normal thing for every woman in Lau is that she should be married. On the whole, the sexes seem fairly equal in number, but the fact that chiefs can multiply wives shows a certain preponderance of females. Still the balance is not unduly in favour of the women. Some villages have more girls than boys, some have more boys than girls. Under present-day conditions the girls are more in evidence than the boys, owing to the latter being recruited as labourers. But I never heard of a case where a girl was unable to marry owing to lack of a suitable husband. There is, however, a practice in Lau whereby a father, presumably one who is a chief, keeps his daughter unmarried. She stays at home with him and works for him instead of for a husband. She is called *geni too liu* (a woman who is free to travel about).

There is such a woman to-day at Sulu Vou, the daughter of a chief. These women live and die spinsters because of the express wish of their fathers. They cannot assume the *toro* (the woman's apron), but remain quite naked, save for the red band of cane round their waists, which marks virginity. All the men respect their virginity. The father, in this case, is said to *alafuu* (make a comparison). He compares his daughter to his own hands, saying: "She is like my two hands." This is done when the daughter is a good worker and willing. The father is loath to part with her, and he and she are spoken of as *si ngengea*, two inseparable objects, like, *e.g.*, the shark and its pilot-fish.

The unmarried girl is called *harii* in Lau. After their first menstruation, girls tie several lengths of rattan cane, dyed a bright red, round their waists as a sign of their maidenhood. There is no ceremony attached to the assuming of this girdle. I noticed in 1927 that the harii of Sulu Vou had replaced the cane belt with a strip of red turkey twill, and that the ends were tied in a bow which hung over the left thigh. It probably was only a bit of local vanity. The harii go to the markets along with the married women, and work in the taro gardens. It is the elder women mainly who chop the firewood and carry it to the beach, but the girls fill and carry the bamboo water-carriers. They also help in the preparation of the evening meal. As stated above, there is considerable freedom of intercourse between the unmarried boys and girls, without ever a suggestion of licence. Girls go off in canoes by themselves on errands here and there, and no one interferes with them.

The younger people, girls as well as boys, use a pigment for their teeth and gums. This is said to preserve the teeth and to prevent sore gums. The process is known as *ogo*. A rock called *fou ogo* is procured from the streams in the hills and is pounded in a clam-shell. Leaves of an acacia (*areko*) are added after roasting; water is poured on, and the whole is wrapped in leaves of the red dracæna and put in the smoke of the fire for a time. The pigment is sucked, at first, after eating the betel-mixture. It is kept in the mouth for a time and then is spat out again. A number of the boys and girls devote themselves seriously to undergoing the process, eating the betel-mixture and sucking the pigment, and during the whole time they live on liquid food and let no water touch their teeth. This may last for a few days, and then they have a feast together afterwards. Later on the pigment is merely rubbed on the gums and teeth.

Bark-cloth in Lau is known as *maku*. Its manufacture has now ceased. The trees used were *hala*, the *Brousonnetia papyfera*, and the breadfruit. After the bark is detached, it is steeped for six days in the juices of *hahamo* (a wild banana), to give it a dark blue colour. The beating out of the cloth was done by women and girls. Formerly the maku was used for women's aprons, and for wrapping up shell-moneys. It figured also in the betrothal ceremony.

In the Lau villages children are very numerous. Sulu Vou, Ada Gege, Fera subua, and Saua fairly swarm with children. The Lau village of Ngwaladi in Port Adam also has very many children. Births are much more numerous than deaths at the present time among the Lau people, and hookworm and yaws, the two main causes of the deaths of the children elsewhere on Mala, have had no effect on the Lau population. At Fou Ii'a, which is only a few hundred yards away from Sulu Vou, but is situated on the mainland, the cemetery is more than half full of children's graves. There is no mother at Fou Ii'a who has not lost one child, while several told me they had lost three. The contrast between Fou Ii'a and Sulu Vou in the matter of the numbers of children is most marked. I found that at Fou Ii'a the deaths of the children were due to malaria, hookworm, yaws, and ulcers. The distance of the artificial islands from the shore prevents the malarial mosquito reaching them, and their latrines, being over the sea, ensures the eventual eradication of hookworm, even if contagion is encountered on the mainland. Yaws occur on the artificial islands, but they are not nearly so virulent as on the mainland. Ulcers are largely a secondary effect of yaws. The Lau children of the artificial islands are free from ulcers, and their skin is glossy and brown. There are comparatively few children to-day in the Tolo villages, and in the coastal villages of the north end which have been built since the return of the Kanakas. The births in these places are as numerous as on the artificial islands, but the children die from the four above-mentioned causes, all of which are preventable to a very large extent.

Children are well treated in Lau, and there is no cruelty to children anywhere on Mala. It is seldom that a mother ever hits a child, and a father never does. A crying child may be smacked, or an unwilling child may be given a buffet, but the usual way adopted to make a child do what is required is to yell at it. So far from Lau children being ill-treated by their parents they are rather spoiled, and no check of any sort is imposed on them. A child that does not get what it wants will go into paroxysms of passionate screaming, and not a soul about takes any notice of it whatever. A younger sister, who on waking cannot find her elder sister, will keep up an incessant scream of "*Auaa nau, auaa nau*" (my elder sister), and though the mother or the father may be in the house, no attempt is made to stop the child's screams. A boy whose father has refused to take him out fishing will stand by the water's edge shrieking and yelling with passion, and no one takes the slightest notice of him.

The elder sisters are the most willing of nurses, and carry the smaller children long after they are perfectly able to run about anywhere. When the mothers go off in the morning to the gardens or to market, the elder girls, ten or twelve years of age, take charge both of the babies and of their younger sisters. Babies or children who cannot walk are seldom laid down; someone is always nursing them. Mothers and fathers are most anxious that their particular child should share in anything that is being distributed, and push the child forward so that one may see it. They are proud of their children, and a whole company will watch the movements of a child with unfeigned interest. At the same time they are very slow to take advantage of a chance of healing their child's sores, or of relieving it when it suffers from malaria. This is due, no doubt, to their previous ignorance of medicines, and to the recollection of their own childhood.

The Lau child is carried on the back and not on the hips. Long before the child can walk it has learned to hold on to the shoulders or the neck of its elder sister or brother, who carries it pick-a-back. As a rule, the brother leaves the carrying and nursing to his sister. The younger boys have no cares or duties, and amuse themselves playing or swimming or going off to the shore or out into the lagoon. Much of the nursing of children falls to the lot of the grandmothers, and one sees an old woman, often totally blind, carrying a grandchild on her back and slowly making her way along with the aid of a staff.

Children are not taken to the stream to bathe till they are able to walk. The people are afraid that the soul of the child may go into the ground or into the forest, and the child be ill in consequence when it reaches home. Small children, if taken to work in the gardens, are not allowed to set foot on the paths, lest some envious or malicious person seeing the footmark, the sign of a healthy child, remove earth from the footmark and thus cause the child to be ill. Children are bathed in the sea at low water, and all of them protest very vigorously against it. The mother takes no notice whatever of the child's shrieks, and calmly goes on throwing the water over it with her hand and rubbing down its body. The crying is difficult to explain. The sea-water is warm, and it cannot be that the child feels cold. No sick child is ever washed. Children who will pierce the air with their cries when being bathed will run about freely and with delight in heavy rain.

Soon after the month-old child is brought from the bisi, its mother heats the unopened leaves of a coco-nut and ties them round its neck, saying an incantation the while. This is done as a charm against yaws. The child will doubtless have yaws, but will have them only in a mild form. At Fou Ii'a one came across some very bad cases of yaws. The children of the hill people may escape yaws altogether, but any adults among them who contract yaws seldom recover. Children of the hill people who have yaws are not allowed to be taken into other people's houses for fear of contagion.

Swellings and sores on children's heads are a frequent occurrence. They are accompanied with large accumulations of pus. The hair may fall off and a bald patch result. These sores and swellings are attributed in the case of young children to the eating by them, or by their nursing mothers, of crabs, or of the flesh of sharks, or porpoises. Nursing mothers are forbidden to eat birds and also certain fish, lest the child's head break out into sores.

The septum of the noses of children of both sexes is pierced when they are from three to four years old. The top and bottom and centre of the ear-lobes are also pierced. Sometimes, in the case of the men, the centre of the lobe is not pierced. The piercing is done with a piece of turtle-shell, which is pressed into the flesh and left to work its way through, no pain being felt. The tip of the nose is pierced in later years at will, a sharp point of shell or a bone being used. Women as well as men may have their nose-tips thus pierced. The piercing of the ears, and of the tip of the nose, is not so commonly seen amongst the younger men to-day.

Tattooing is done in Lau when the children are very young, in order that they may not feel pain. No incantation accompanies it, and there is no keeping the child awake previous to the tattooing in order that it may be drowsy during the operation. The women do the tattooing, either the mother of the child or the father's sister. If any other woman does it a fee of a few porpoise teeth has to be paid. For the tattooing they use the juice of a young coco-nut, and mix saliva and lime with it. The whole is put into a half coco-nut shell and a little water added. This furnishes the pigment. A sharp splinter of bamboo is then dipped into the mixture and the cuts are made with it. Both boys and girls are tattooed, and in old days tattooing was obligatory. When a person arrived, after death, at Momolu, the island of the dead, the presiding ghost examined him to see if he was tattooed. If he proved to be tattooed, he was set on a seat; if not, he had to go about on all-fours like a pig. Of late years tattooing has rather fallen into abeyance owing to the changes caused in the culture of the people by the introduction of white civilization.

The patterns used are called: 1. *fuae alite*; 2. *bubulu*; 3. *sisi gaula*; 4. *tale kokosu*; 5. *gwai rora*. Number 1, "the nut of the alite tree," is the diamond lozenge. This is cut in the centre of the forehead both of girls and boys. Number 2, "a star," is a circle with rays. This is cut on the cheek below the eyes. Number 3, "the opening of the wings of the man-of-war hawk," is the inverted W pattern, so common in the Solomons, and is a representation of the wings of the man-of-war hawk. The sisi gaula is cut on the lower temples or on the cheek. Number 4, "the track of the hermit crab," consists of chevrons cut across the cheek. Number 5, "heads of rora" (a fish), consists of rows of lozenges cut between the chevrons.

In later years women cut the sisi gaula across their upper arms, and also across their calves. Men take the midrib of a coco-nut leaf, burn it down and put the burnt part on their forearm. This is set alight and its burning causes a blister. When the blister breaks the juice of a young coco-nut is rubbed in; cicatrices then form on the place.

Women make these cicatrices on their arms also. This practice is called *’ini’ini* (to pinch). To tattoo is *kede maa* (to cut the face).

The word for a lullaby is *rofi ngwela*, or *ruru ngwela*, *ro* or *ruro* being the term commonly used throughout Mala for lullaby, the word for “child,” Lau *ngwela*, being added. The lullabies are sung principally by the elder sisters, those who are minding the children when the mother has gone away. The child is clasped to the breast, and the singer rocks herself and the child to and fro.

’Avuto, the Owl

’Avuto i Kwaenaa	Owl in the forest
Lelea ka rodo	Travelling about till nightfall
Ngwela nia ka mae	Her child dies
Alu i Tae fata	She puts it in the shallows
Kiikii e taraa	A rat took it
Ngwane asi ka midia	A sea-snake licked it
’O’oru ka ngwailaa	A frog laughed
Ahalee !	Ha ! ha !

Toaa, Tooa

Toaa ! toaa ! haasigu fai nau	Toaa ! toaa ! my sister and I
Mere lidu, mere lidu	We crawled, we crawled
Mere ka lidu toona	We crawl and find,
Lidu toona te ote harii	Crawl and find a company of girls

Kwi-kwi, the Snipe

Teteo i bisi, kwi-kwi	Lying in the bisi, kwi-kwi
Nonigu e iniula, kwi-kwi	My body was all hot, kwi-kwi
Lea kou tau noni ’agu, kwi-kwi	I went off to bathe, kwi-kwi
Maana kafo kami, kwi-kwi	At the mouth of our river, kwi-kwi
Kafo kami i Mamalede, kwi-kwi	Our river the Mamalede, kwi-kwi
Alakwa sa Lau ’ila, kwi-kwi	The young man Lau ’ila, kwi-kwi
Uinau ’ania, kwi-kwi	Pelted me with, kwi-kwi
Fuae dau bora, kwi-kwi	A fruit of the dua bora, kwi-kwi
Ka too i fafo susu na, kwi-kwi	Hit me on the breast, kwi-kwi
Susu na ka toratora, kwi-kwi	My breast gave forth a jet, kwi-kwi
Totora mala fe alu, kwi-kwi	Spurtled like the fruit of the alu, kwi-kwi
Mala fe alu ni fasia, kwi-kwi	Like the fruit of the alu for planting, kwi-kwi
Mala fe lulu ka rii, r-r-r-ru !	Like the fruit of the thin-leafed lulu, r-r-r-ru !

Sono : a Game played with Stones

Sono, sono makwa, sono lalabu, sono labulabu, ulikona i alavi, alavi sousou, sousou alea, alea kai eta, kai rua, kai olu, kai fai, kai lima, kai ono, kai fiu, kai kwalu, kai sikwa, kai tatangafulu

Na ngwela i Funaa Vou	A boy of Funaa Vou
Soofia niu gami	Found our coco-nut
Niu ketekete gami	Our dry coco-nut
'Ama i kukua	Fern-leaf hanging down
I kuakua olioli	Hanging down on return
I oli bara taalo	Returning with the shields.

The company sits on the ground in a ring ; each person holds a stone in the right hand. At the opening word *sono* (jab), the stone is knocked on the ground, at the next word it is passed to one's neighbour on the right, etc. The last ten words of the first part end with the numerals from one to ten. The first part may be repeated, the stones being passed to the left. In the second part the stones are no longer passed round, but are knocked on the ground with a quickened beat. The last three lines deal with the return of the warriors from a fight with sprigs of lycopodium fern in their hair. The last word *talo* (shield) is lengthened in sound.

CHAPTER SIX

Ghosts

THE Lau people use the term *agalo* to denote disembodied spirits, ghosts of men. This word *agalo* covers both the disembodied human soul, that part of a man which is conceived of by the people as still existing after death, and also vague spectral beings which are not regarded as mere disembodied human souls.

The agalos that occupy the most prominent place in Lau are those who are the ghosts of ancestors, especially of those ancestors who were the founders of the artificial islands. Prayers and sacrifices and offerings are definitely made to these ancestral ghosts.

It is customary among certain people to hold that the worship paid by Solomon Islanders to the ghosts of their ancestors is a worship of devils. The term "debbil-debbil," and the phrase "make 'im debbil-debbil," which are now in common use in the Solomons, were first applied to the agalos and their worship by the men of the Labour trade. A native of Mala would use them to-day, and would think that he was giving a correct rendering thereby of his own words *agalo* (ghost), and *foosia agalo* (worship ghosts). The use of the term "debbil-debbil" by white people with reference to ancestral ghosts proceeds from ignorance of the character of the worship paid to the ghosts, and from the idea that all worship by native peoples is a worship of evil spirits and devils. The Lau man, if he really understood the implications of the word "devil," would protest loudly that he worshipped his ancestors, who were no devils. He would also scout the idea that he lived in fear of his ancestral agalos. Leo, Vuvura, and other ancestors of the Sulu Vou people, who are agalos, and who are worshipped—to call them devils is sheer nonsense. Moreover, the ancestral agalos are friendly. To the native mind they are the protectors of their descendants, and the conservators of the family honour and pride. They are also the purveyors of benefits. How, then, is it possible that those who pray and sacrifice to them pass their lives in fear of them? Other agalos there are, *agalo kwasi* (unowned agalos), who have no people of their own to protect and care for; *dodore* (changelings), who bring death; *agalimae* (war ghosts), who are not ancestors: and it is true to say that the people stand in dread of these. But towards the true ancestral ghosts the native attitude is one of reverence rather than of fear.

And yet the rank and file, the uninitiated, and the women also, do manifest a certain fear of the agalos. This is only to be expected, seeing that the priests, along with the elder chiefs, are practically the sole repositories of the knowledge of the way to approach the ghosts. The rest of the people are content to leave religious matters in the main to priests and chiefs, thus making it possible for fear to creep in. The women are utterly excluded from all participation in religious rites, and from all access to holy things and holy places. It is not, therefore, a thing to be wondered at if their isolation and separation from these things breeds fear of the ghosts, a certain amount of which is imparted by them to their children.

The respect and reverence felt for the ghosts is shown by the reluctance of the people to mention their names. They are referred to by the use of some periphrasis: *e.g.* Sina Kwao is called *Aarai la 'ai* (The lord in the case), referring to his relic, which is kept in a case at Sulu Vou. No child may be named after an ancestral ghost, but there are certain names given to children which are the recognized equivalents of the sacred names. Thus Kwao=Sina Kwao, and Sura 'au=Leo, and these equivalents are now used. The Melanesian practice of altering names and words which have formed part of the names of deceased chiefs obtains also in Lau. The father of the war-ghost, Sina Kwao, was nicknamed Ngidu i boso (Pig's snout), and to-day in Lau *ngidu* (snout) has been replaced by *faka* (mouth), and they say *fakana boso* when speaking of a pig's snout.

The To'oa Baita people use *amali* for "sea," instead of the common *asi*, owing to the death of a big chief named Ramo i asi (Champion at sea). To'oa Baita has also dropped the use in proper names of *manu* (bird). Possibly the Tolo use of *saaro*, *thaaro*, for both bird and cuscus opossum is due to the same cause. The 'Ai Seni people call Sulu Vou by the name Maana Gao. Their own beu aabu is named Sulu Vou, and this prevents them from using the name. If a man mentions the name of a ghost he first averts his head and spits on the ground, or he removes anything he may have in his mouth. If smoking or eating the betel-mixture, he will not say the name of a ghost; the priests, however, are free to do so. When Gwaliasi was giving me the names of certain agalos, he first removed the wad of the betel-mixture from his mouth, and he was careful also to see that we were alone before he uttered the names. The motive at the back of all this is not so much fear as reverence. Respect must be shown to the ghosts.

The ancestral agalos are the protectors both of the family as a whole and also of the individual members of it. All of those men who are *too futa* (relatives by birth) worship and are under the protection of the same ghosts. If a man kills his too futa it is classed as *fualangaa*, a word which seems on analysis to mean "dry ashes." The two men worshipped at the one altar, and the killing of one by the other broke the continuity of the sacrifice. If it were desired to kill a too futa for any reason, the protection of the agalo must first of all be removed from him by a sacrifice, or by an areca nut put in the bae, together with an incantation or prayer. He might then be killed without incurring the anger of the agalo. The worship of the ancestral agalo thus involves what practically amounts to a worship of the family. The ghosts worshipped are the founders of the family and their immediate descendants, and the killing of a fellow-member of the family is sacrilege.

The word agalo is applied to all the dead, whether men or women, great or small. The sacrificial system in Lau is concerned with the great dead of the generations now far removed. The names of all deceased chiefs are called at the time of the offering of sacrifice, but the force of custom practically confines the worship to a few of the ancestors. The ghosts of ordinary people, commoners, are invoked in connexion with the yam harvest. Also, when a man is fishing with a net he will call on the agalos of his own family. As the net runs out he bales out the water in the canoe, saying with each stroke: "Salt water for you, So-and-so, grant me fish." Children are told to roast and eat a yam on the spot where one of their "fathers" died. The agalo of the dead man will then ensure a good harvest for his descendants. The ghosts of women are thought to be feeble, and they are not invoked, but at Manu eu there was an altar or burial-place called "The women's bae," where sacrifice and offerings were made to ancestral sharks, and where the chiefly women were buried. When any female descendant of the Manu eu chiefs died, a shark appeared the very next morning with a victim. There is no invocation of the ghosts of children.

The various departments of the life of the people are under the care of particular ghosts. The founders of the islands are specially invoked at the porpoise-hunting; the turtle-nets are dedicated to the chiefs of the main lines, and the ordinary nets are under the care of the departed chiefs generally. In war the war ghosts are invoked. Originally the war ghosts were different from the ancestral ghosts, and the functions of the two classes of ghosts were kept separate; but the process of time has caused some of the war ghosts to be invoked for the porpoise-hunting, and some of the ancestral ghosts to be invoked for war.

The only case of incarnation that I know of in Lau is in connexion with man-eating sharks. Such sharks are held to be incarnations of deceased chiefs of 'O'ona's line, and are called either *agalo* or *baekwa* (shark). At Suu, Irobaoa and his people worship crocodiles, considering them to be incarnations of dead chiefs of Suu. The Tolo people regard fireflies as the ghosts of men killed by violence. There is a row of stones in a certain place among the Bae Guu people which are said to be petrified men, and these stones are spoken of as *agalo*. The word used in Lau for incarnation is *alu* (to become, to change into) ; *nia alu baekwa* (he became incarnate in a shark).

The Lau people speak of certain changeling ghosts, calling them *agalo mala liaa* (ghosts changed in appearance as it were). The Tolo people use the name Dodore for them. Such ghosts have always some limb wanting—an arm or a leg. The sight of one of them causes death. The protecting ghost of any person who sees a changeling ghost leaves him, and he dies on reaching home. In this case the changeling is seen in the forest. The changeling may take the form of a fish which a man finds dead somewhere in the lagoon. He eats it suspecting nothing, and dies on reaching home. A changeling ghost is then said to have killed him. The ghosts of women who have died in childbirth may conceivably assume a visible form and appear to a person. Cases of paralysis and of sciatica are attributed to the action of such ghosts.

That part of a man which we call the "soul" is called *ano* in Lau. The pronouns of possession *ku*, *mu*, *na*, may be suffixed to *ano* : *anona* (his soul) ; or the possessives *'aku*, *'amu*, *'ana*, may be used instead Mr. S. H. Ray connects this *ano* with Efate *anu* (shadow), Mortlock *anu* (spirit, ghost), Ponape *ani* (disembodied spirit), Loyalty Islands *hanu* (soul, shadow), and gives Indonesian *hantu*, *anitu* (ghost), as the probable origin of these and other similar words for "ghost," "spirit," "shadow" that occur in the Pacific. In Lau, a man's ano is said to leave him during sleep. It wanders, and his dreams are that which his ano sees in its wanderings during his sleep. On return it tells the man what it has seen, and this constitutes his dreams. In spite of the absence of the ano during sleep, the Lau people have no hesitation in forcibly awakening a sleeper. If a person faints, his ano is said to have left him. In the form of divination called *labu uunu*, which is used to detect a person who has employed black magic to compass a man's death, the ano of the diviner sees a vision during sleep, and is able to recognize the guilty person.

The ano of a man who is making his first sea-trip has to be secured on return. Between Sineranggo and Uru on the east coast there is a big white rock called Fou faarongoa (Echo rock), and when Lau canoes are passing north after a trip, a station is made opposite the rock in order to summon the ano of any new chum who may be on board. The place of the ano is to be taken by the ano of an ancestor. The idea held is that some agalo on the voyage may have snatched away the ano of the new chum. The success of the call is shown by the rocking movement of the canoe in which the man is sitting. If the canoe fails to move he will be ill on returning home, and an offering must be made to the local ghosts on his behalf. The term *ano e doo* (soul of thing) is applied to apparitions, such as changelings which are seen by men, and these apparitions are also spoken of as *agalo*. The former term is used also of the soul after death in the phrase *lau ano e doo* (catching the soul). A ceremony of catching the soul takes place some ten days or so after death.

The ano of the dead are said to go to an island called, in Lau, Momolu, situated off Bugotu, Ysabel. This island is known in Bugotu as Tuhilagi, and it is also the home of the souls of the Bugotu dead. On leaving the body at death the ano is supposed to travel in a canoe to the island Ano gwou (Ramos Island), between Mala and Ysabel, thence it goes to Momolu. This is an ordinary route for canoe parties to take. At Momolu the presiding ghost, Kwadi bulu (The black whistler), examines the arrivals to see if they are tattooed or not. If they are tattooed, they are set on a platform; if not, they have to go about on all-fours like pigs. He questions them as to the manner of their death, whether it was through sickness or through black magic. He then disposes of them according to their answers.

Their food at Momolu is wild yams and wild taros, which are obtained locally. They go out fishing with nets, just as they did during their lifetime. They attend markets on the shore at Bugotu, taking yams, taros, bananas in exchange for fish. Neither party in the market sees the other. The Momolu party puts down their yams, etc., and retires. The Bugotu party comes forward and places fish over against the Momolu things, and then retires. The Momolu party, if satisfied, picks up the fish and leaves. If they are not satisfied further fish are added. The Bugotu party is composed of living people.

Lau tells of a certain man who was lazy and refused to help his wife. She refused to have him and sent him to live with his dead father and mother at Momolu. They questioned him on his arrival and assigned him a beu to live in apart. He was to receive his food from them.

The Kwara 'Ae people say that the home of their dead is at the island Ano Gwou. They swim there, and are not taken in a canoe. If the ghosts are unable to swim, they haunt the local beaches. Offerings are left on such beaches for ghosts who come back from Ano Gwou and take them. Ano Gwou was formerly inhabited by Gao people, but it was vacated through fear of raids by Mala people. Wild yams and swamp taro are found on the island. The name Ano Gwou means "Deserted garden ground."

Though the term *ano* is employed of the souls of the dead, they are more properly spoken of as *ano asa* (where *asa*= powerless, lost its cunning). Momolu is known in Lau as *fera ano asa* (The land of ano asa). It would seem that *agalo* is not used properly of the souls of the dead which are conceived of as living at Momolu, and that *ano asa* is the proper term for them, *agalo* being reserved rather to connote the spiritual influence which the ancestral ghosts are thought to exercise. However, *agalo* is certainly used in speaking of the souls at Momolu, but this may be due to the influence of other places, *e.g.* Sa'a, and not be a true Lau use.

We are faced with contradictory accounts in North Mala of what happens to the soul after death. All souls are said to go to Momolu at death, and yet ten days after death the soul is fished for, as if it still were present. When it has been secured it is taken into the beu so that it may be with the other agalos. The matter is further complicated by the belief in Tolo of a home of the dead called Dadani talau (Light everlasting), which is said to be situated in the centre of the earth. At Suu, on the mainland, there is a pool called *suulana ano asa* (Where the souls of the dead dive); this is presumably on their way to Dadani talau.

If my remarks are correct about Malapa Island (*see M.S.E.S.I.*, p. 479), viz., that it became the home of the dead for the southern Solomons because it was the place where the immigrants settled who introduced certain portions of the present-day culture of the people, then Momolu (Tuhilagi) must stand in the same relation to the Lau and Bugotu peoples. In this case Dadani talau is part of a tradition older than Momolu, and more in keeping with the beliefs of the supposed matrilineal people who lived on Mala previous to the coming of the immigrants. Perry gives examples of the belief in an underground world (*Children of the Sun*, p. 262) which exists amongst matrilineal peoples.

Something further must be added about the general belief in Mala that the ghosts of the dead (agalo) are intimately associated with their relics. The association is not merely one of thought. The relic is, in a way, the agalo himself. Thus Buga, of Sulu Vou, spoke to me of the agalo, Sina Kwao, whose priest he was, and to his mind the relic of Sina

Kwao at Sulu Vou was not merely the means of approaching him, but was also Sina Kwao himself, *Aarai la 'ai* (The lord in the case). The skulls of the Sulu Vou dead are taken to Ngwalo, but their bones, their relics, are in the bae, and thus their presence is assured.

At Marau Sound the ghosts are spoken of as *hi'ona* and not as *akaro*. The home of the dead for the Marau people is Malapa, an island in the Sound, but I found that the hill people of the south end of Guadalcanal (Gera) have a home of the dead at Pauhi in the northern part of Marau Sound, as well as on Malapa ; Pauhi being only a temporary place of rest on the way to Malapa.

The common Oceanic word *mana*, denoting ghostly or spiritual power, does not occur in Mala in the simple form. The Lau form of the word is *mamana*, a verb (to be magically or spiritually powerful) used of an agalo or of something empowered by the action of an agalo : *mamanaa* (magical or spiritual power proceeding from an agalo). The words have a *direct* reference to the power of ghosts : everything that is mamana is so because of its connexion with ghosts who empower it. There is no idea of a thing being magically powerful in itself. Always the power of the ghosts is predicated. In Lau the word *'ako* (hot) is used as meaning " magically powerful." The noun *akoakolaa* in Lau is used of the success of a man, or of the effect of an incantation, and is equivalent to the common expression " hot stuff ! " In Lau they also use *si ere* (a fire !) with the same meaning. Another word, *oilakea*, a passive form, is used in Lau of psychical power which manifests itself, or of spiritual endowment by ghosts : *oilakea fuagu* (lucky me !), *a oilakea* (the mighty one) is used in St. Luke (i. 49) ; *oilaketeini*, a transitive verbal form, is to furnish a person with a thing. A further word is used in Lau : *fale* (to give, to grant). The agalo is said to " fale " a man's arrow when he shoots ; and *si falea* means magical power, ability, with the express connotation of ghostly empowering behind it. The verbs *rao* (to abide), *firi* (to stay constantly), *fuu* (to clothe), are also used in Lau of the action of ghosts empowering men. An arrow that has been made magically powerful by an incantation, an appeal to a ghost, will cause death, even if it merely graze a man's skin.

The Lau phrase denoting possession by ghosts is *agalo tae* (a ghost rides). A company of people might be sitting and talking over the sickness of one of their fellows, when suddenly a man among them would become rigid. The rest say to him: "Go on, tell us what is the matter. What has he to do? What ghost is troubling him?" The man then proceeds to give forth the mind of the ghost who is possessing him, and to say what the sick man must do to get well. A ghost who wishes to make a communication on a subject under discussion may possess a woman if there are no men about. Possession by a ghost might take place either on land or at sea. Possession by a ghost was definitely resorted to for purposes of divination, in order to ascertain the mind of the ghosts. Certain people are said to be more likely subjects than others for a ghost to manifest his will through them as his media. Any person who is thus specially favoured by a ghost is said to have been "chosen" by the ghost.

There is a form of exorcism used in Lau in connexion with sickness. The phrase describing it is *lau agalo* (to remove ghosts). Certain persons profess to be able to cure sickness. The name given to these is *ngwane gura* (healers). When called in to a case they take leaves of the tree called *elo* along with lime, and putting the leaves on the affected part, if the man be suffering from a boil or a swelling, they then sprinkle the lime on them, saying an incantation the while. They next proceed to extract various things from the part affected: ginger, a piece of tobacco, a piece of mangrove fruit, the spine of a sea-shell, a piece of food. Some agalo is supposed to have aimed these things at the patient, causing him to be ill.

The rocking of a canoe by a ghost (*agalo geu*) provides an affirmative answer to questions asked. At Sulu Vou, when the skulls of the dead are being removed to Ngwalo, the priest hands out the skulls from inside the beus. A canoe is in waiting to receive the skulls. The priest's assistant stands outside holding a sprig of dracæna in his hand. If he is in doubt as to any particular skull, whose skull it is, whether the skull of a Lau man or of a Tolo man who had died at Sulu Vou, he questions the skull, saying: "Are you So-and-so?" For the affirmative the canoe rocks from side to side. If the canoe remains stationary, the conclusion is that the skull is the skull of a Tolo man, and so must not be taken to Ngwalo, but must be buried ashore. Men out in a canoe, if they see a shark and are in doubt as to whether they shall proceed or return, will question the shark, calling it by the name of some known shark incarnation. In answer to their questions the canoe rocks and the interlocutor interprets the mind of the shark. If during a calm a canoe begins to rock for no visible reason, the same process is gone through.

A term, "ghost maddened" (*agalo kwea*), is used in the case of a man who suddenly goes mad and refuses to answer when questioned. He rushes off into the bush and there wanders about. If he secures an axe or a weapon he is apt to become dangerous. Should he come across relatives during his wanderings, all is well. But a stranger seeing him and not knowing him, might perchance kill him. In some cases the man thus afflicted was tied up by relatives in the hill country who found him, and then the Lau people brought him back. The attack might last from four to five days.

The Lau word which is used for "worship" is *foosi agalo*; *foo*, *foosi*, meaning "to bind." So the phrase must mean "binding ghosts," *i.e.* securing their power for one's own purposes. The phrase *foosi agalo* (to worship) includes sacrifices, offerings, and prayers to the ghosts. From the verb *foo*, the nouns *fooa*, *fooalaa* are formed. Both of these words denote "worship" or "prayer," and *ngwane fooa* (men who attend to the worship) is the name given to the priest's two assistants, men who are allowed to eat with him of the sacrifice. On several occasions it is said of the priests that they "say prayers" to a ghost. Thus, when a man returns home after a prolonged absence overseas, an areca nut is handed to the priest, who then proceeds to eat it, offering a prayer to the man's ancestral ghosts and begging them not to visit him with sickness because he has neglected them so long. The words used by the priest are more or less of a stereotyped form, but they are definitely a prayer (fooa), and are so called. The owner of a new net will say prayers over it in his beu before it is taken out the first time. When a party returns from a voyage the priest places a coco-nut on their behalf in the beu aabu along with prayers to the ghosts. Prayers are the usual accompaniment of offerings made in order to avert or cure sickness. A further word, *ara*, *ara agalo*, denotes invocation or prayer to a ghost, intercession for a given object.

The Lau word *agalo*, besides its meaning of "ghost," carries also the meaning "to invoke, to say an incantation over, to infect with spiritual power." This appears to be the original meaning of the set of Oceanic words with which *agalo* is connected, and it is interesting to find a similar meaning attached to it also in Lau. Incantations are used in cases of sickness, and in the practice of magic, both black and white. The use of incantations, except in the case of *bulu*, *i.e.* charming sharks or crocodiles, or causing deep sleep to enemies, is generally confined to persons other than the priests.

North Mala has stories about a number of ghosts who are not ordinary agalos, *i.e.* who are not definitely claimed as ancestors, and who are known as "war ghosts." The Lau name for these ghosts is *agalimae*, *i.e. agalo i mae* (ghosts of war). I heard, and recorded, the name *agalimae* many years ago, but was under the impression that it connoted spiritual beings who were not thought of by the people as ever having been human beings. I am now definitely of the opinion that all the beings worshipped in Mala: *agalo*, *agalimae*, *akalo*, *akalo i matawa*, *hi'ona*, were once real men, and that there is no trace on Mala of any idea of the existence of purely spiritual beings.

Every important beu aabu in Tolo has a war ghost connected with it, and cherishes a relic connected with him as its most precious possession. These relics consist of bows, or spears, or clubs said to have belonged to the war ghost in question. Most of them bear names, and the relics in the 'Ai Seni beu aabu, Sulu Vou, are called Fufuli and Buli. In war, if a village was threatened, the chief fled to relatives elsewhere, taking the relics with him. These bows and spears are made of ebony brought from Gao, Ysabel Island. Most of the relics have red and yellow plaiting on them, done with thin strips of obi and adiadi. The handle of the famous 'alavolo club, said to have been made by Laukeni (*see* p. 179), is plaited in the same way. At the times of great feasts in Tolo these relics might be exposed and handled by the visitors. The plaiting on some of them has become much worn in consequence.

The artificial island, Sulu Vou, possesses a relic, a bow, which is said to have belonged to the war ghost named Sina Kwao. This bow is never exposed, and it is not kept in the beu aabu but in a special beu belonging to the priest who serves Sina Kwao. I myself saw it hanging up in this beu, which now is occupied by Buga. It is well wrapped up with many layers of sago-palm leaves.

These war ghosts are not the ancestors of their worshippers like the ordinary agalos are. Gwali asi of Sulu Vou claimed Sina Kwao as his ancestor, but that was only because he had the right of entry into Buga's beu, where the relic is kept. The official worship of Sina Kwao, the right of sacrificing to him, is entirely in the hands of Buga, who is a Fuaga man. No native to-day can give the " generations " of Sina Kwao, and he, like the rest of the war ghosts, stands out as a single isolated individual almost without any genealogy whatever. So far as Gwaliasi's claim of descent from Sina Kwao is concerned, it is nullified by the circumstances of the acquisition of the relic in question. It was acquired by Sulu Vou from Fuaga some time after the foundation of Sulu Vou. I do not know why Fuaga should have parted with it, but the gift was made possible by the close connexion of Sulu Vou and Fuaga owing to the fact that Leo's mother was a Fuaga woman. It looks as if the Sulu Vou chiefs felt the want of a relic similar to the relics in the beu aabu of the Tolo peoples, and set about getting one for their island. Funaa Vou has the war bow of an agalimae which once belonged to the Tolo village Gano Mela, and Fuaga still retains the coir noose with which Sina Kwao strangled people.

Sina Kwao was not a Lau man. His beu was at Fuusei, a place on the hills above Ataa Cove, where there is still an altar belonging to him. His Tolo origin is also shown by the fact that any person who is possessed by his ghost talks in the Fata Leka language and not in Lau. His mother's name was Bira 'ana hato (Cleave to the sun), *bira*, to cleave, being used of the way a vine cleaves to the trunk of a tree. His mother's brother was named Fai Lau, and his father Ngidu i boso (Pig's snout). Ngidu i boso belonged to the Tali Kali people. Bira 'ana hato and her brother are said to have come from Suuna rii, a place overseas, and to have landed at Fou anuanu (the earthquake rock), near Fuaga, in Ataa Cove. Thence they appear to have gone up into the interior, for Fai Lau is reported to have lived amongst the Fata Leka people. He was armed with a V-shaped crook as a weapon, and used it to catch men by the neck and kill them. Sina Kwao's name means " Shining White," and it is said to have been given him in remembrance of his mother's brother in the homeland. The name looks as if

Sina Kwao was of a different colour from that of the local people. Gwali asi said he was partly light-coloured and partly black, *i.e.* of the Melanesian colour. To illustrate what he meant by white he instanced the colour of albinos.

Bira 'ana hato had another child, a daughter named Sulu Maoma. Sina Kwao does not appear to have married, and there is no tradition of any descendants of Fai Lau or of Bira 'ana hato and her husband besides the three mentioned.

The existence of a bow attributed to this person, Sina Kwao, at Sulu Vou, might not be accepted as sufficient proof of its being anything other than an ordinary bow, or of Sina Kwao being anything other than a mere legendary hero. However, there is definite evidence of the actual existence of Sina Kwao. Sulu Vou has a second relic of Sina Kwao, a lock of his hair, and this hair is red in colour. Naturally, I was amazed when I first heard of this, and at once I put the obvious question: "Do you mean hair that is actually red, or hair that has been reddened by the use of lime?" The answer was perfectly clear: "Red hair, *ifu kekeroa!* hair that is coloured by lime we call white, *kwao*." My informants went on to mention several white people with red hair whom they had seen.

This lock of red hair is kept in the beu along with Sina Kwao's bow. Both of these relics were acquired from Fuaga. Neither of them is exposed at the feasts, and no one of the present day, save Buga, has seen them uncovered. The hair is kept in a wooden receptacle, and it is this hair which was referred to as *Aarai la 'ai* (The lord in the case). Sina Kwao is not the only red-haired man whom one hears of in North Mala. Kwara 'Ae has a story of a man called Redhead (Gwau Meo), an immigrant from overseas, who landed near Auke, and made his way into the hill country of the interior (*see* p. 291). One hears of red-headed persons being found amongst native peoples in various parts of the Pacific. The Maoris of New Zealand have a proverb:

"Red hair, chief's hair"; and red hair is still found to-day in certain chiefly families amongst the Maoris. Sina Kwao's red hair would be derived from his mother's side, and the tradition is clear as to her and her brother having "drifted to Mala."

Other stories of people from overseas who drifted to Mala and brought elements of culture with them will be found on p. 291. Who these immigrants were it is impossible to say. The mere mention of the red hair definitely fixes the truth of two of the immigration stories, for red hair is unknown in the Solomons. Doubtless there is much that has to be discounted when one is dealing with legendary tales, but it must not be forgotten that the foundation of them is actual facts. I am quite of the mind of Mr. W. J. Perry when he says (*Children of the Sun*, p. 104): "Traditions serve to throw a flood of light on dark places, and, if not forced to support any *a priori* view, but allowed to tell their own tale in their own time, they reveal the most unexpected results."

In the course of time many legends have become associated with the name of Sina Kwao. He is credited with killing a giant monitor lizard called *baekwa i tolo*, which was devouring the land; also with shooting an eagle which was eating up people. These two stories would seem to equate him with the Sa'a stories of the boy called Hute i reuna nga päsi (*see M.S.E.S.I.*, p. 432). Like Rapu'anate, Sina Kwao is credited with carrying a clam-shell ashore under his arm (*op. cit.*, p. 479). The shell was to serve as his drinking-vessel when the rain filled it. As an offensive weapon he used a noose made of coir rope to strangle people with. With this he killed a great dog that waylaid people and ate them up.

Sina Kwao carried on a fight with another agalimae called Toli. The father of Toli was named Niu (Coco-nut). Toli is said to have carried up to the hill country the other half of the clam-shell which Sina Kwao used as a drinking-vessel.

The two agalimae were at enmity with one another, and Sina Kwao swore that he would kill Toli to serve as a victim for the new beu which he was building. The ordinary process is to finish the beu first and then to hold a feast in honour of the agalos. After the women have eaten pig at the conclusion of the "feast for the women," a victim is sought. Sina Kwao, however, reversed the order, braving the anger of the agalos, and set out to kill Toli while the beu was still unfinished. Toli left his home and fled into the bush. He wandered about for months, eating what he could find. His hair grew long and shaggy. Sina Kwao tracked him by the ashes of his fires. First he found the ashes of a fire that were six months old. Then he found ashes five months old; then ashes one month old. At last he came upon a fire the ashes of which were still warm. He looked about and saw the feet of Toli projecting from the fork of a tree, where he lay hidden and asleep. He climbed up a tree alongside and crossed to the tree where Toli was. He jabbed him as he lay with a war arrow barbed with human bone. Toli grabbed it and thrust back at Sina Kwao in return. This continued till finally Sina Kwao smashed in Toli's head with his short-handled club called *subi*. He then cut his head off and took it home. His friends said magical incantations over him and cured him of his wounds. In his beu were a number of heads of his victims, and Toli's huge head filled up the hole in which the rest of the heads were lying. Sina Kwao is said to have eaten the bodies of the victims whose heads were thus kept as mementoes.

Sina Kwao did not allow anyone to see his red hair. On his head he wore a covering made of bark which hung over his shoulders. When bathing he removed this covering. His sister's son, *ko'o*, was forbidden to follow him when he went to bathe. Out of curiosity the boy followed his uncle one day when he went to bathe. When Sina Kwao removed the covering and his red hair became visible, the boy said to himself as he watched in hiding: "Ah! that is why my ko'o forbade me going with him to bathe." Sina Kwao felt in himself that something was wrong, and on return he asked the boy whether he had watched him. When the boy confessed, Sina Kwao killed him and ate him after cooking him. It was tabu to see the red hair. At Sulu Vou it is tabu for anyone wearing anything red to enter the beu where Sina Kwao's relics are kept. No one may pass in front of the beu with anything red on his person.

Another agalimae known in Tolo is named 'Ili Manu. A war arrow belonging to him is now at Sulu Vou. Kilo is the name of another; there is also an agalimae called Takiliu, who was invoked at war-time and asked to grant victims. Two Sulu Vou chiefs, Vuvura and Iani, in process of time were added to the list of agalimae.

North Mala has a set of songs celebrating the prowess of the agalimae. These songs are called *'ae ni mae*. They are probably to be equated with the songs at Sa'a, called *'ae li kana*, which recount the deeds of Rapu'anate and the other heroes of Olu Malau. On the analogy of *'ae li kana*, which means "The source, or, the beginning, of song," the North Mala *'ae ni mae* means "The source, or, the beginning, of war." The phrase, then, connects the agalimae with the introduction of war into North Mala. This is only what one would expect, seeing that the name *agalimae* means "war ghosts," and that at Sulu Vou the whole functions of Sina Kwao, the particular agalimae who is worshipped there, are connected with war. The *'ae ni mae* sagas are chanted at feasts or at any other times when companies of men are gathered together.

At Sulu Vou, when a fight was imminent, a pig was first strangled and an omen was taken as to whether the fight should take place or not. If the nose of the pig was bloody, the omen was unfavourable and the fight must not take place. The agalimae would not grant any victims, and the fight would be disastrous to the sacrificers. The Koio people took such an omen before the attack in 1907 on the Government party. After the omen is taken, the pig is wrapped in dry coco-nut leaves and burned whole. The ceremony takes place at night. There is no eating of the sacrifice by the participants: it is a whole burnt sacrifice to the war ghost. The priest and the leader of the war party conduct the ceremony.

The Ada Gege people sacrificed pigs to Sina Kwao at Sulu Vou after the murder of three of their young men, who were serving as police on the occasion of the Koio murder. The pigs were taken to Sulu Vou for Buga to offer. The sacrifice was made in order to appease the wrath of Sina Kwao, who was considered to have withdrawn his protection from the Ada Gege men for some reason. In consequence of this the Koio people were able to kill them. One might allow that the terms "debbil-debbil," "make 'im debbil-debbil," used by white people of the native worship, have a proper application to the agalimae and their worship!

The knowledge of certain *agalo i matakwa* (ghosts of the open sea, foreign ghosts) has reached Lau from Sa'a, owing to visits paid to Sa'a by Lau people. Adi lo'a, Uluulu i matakwa (Wade in the open sea), Gali asi (Circle the ocean), *Kwaasi ola* (Smash canoes) are Lau names of ghosts of the sea which are known also to the Sa'a people. Their worship belongs properly to Sa'a and Ulawa, but they have been installed in Lau as agalos connected with the porpoise-hunting. Sina Kwao was divorced from his proper sphere and was also invoked in the porpoise-hunting. Possibly the chase was considered as a war on porpoises! Leo was properly invoked as the true agalo who ensured success in the porpoise-hunting. Another ghost, named Bobo, is connected with the porpoise-hunting. A dog was specially consecrated to him during the ceremonies that preceded the hunting, and was called by his name.

The eagle is called *manu aabu* (sacred bird) in Lau. Eagles are worshipped by the Tolo people, and also by the people of the village called Fera ta'a on Ngwalulu Island.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Priests and Sacrifices

PRIESTS are called *hata aabu* (holy name) in Lau. The reason for the appellation lies in the fact that the priests are classed with the ghosts whom they serve. As with the names of the ghosts, so with the names of the priests ; neither ghost nor priest is to be talked of publicly by his name. The principle of avoidance is at work in both cases. In actual practice the menfolk of a place use the names of their priests quite freely, but women and children are supposed to exercise reserve in the matter, and, when they speak of a priest, to say *a hata aabu* (the person with the holy name). A priest's wife, however, calls her husband by his name. A further name by which the priests are known is *fooa ni gwou* (pray head-wise), a reference to the fact that when a priest enters the bae, he wears hanging from his head the sacred bag containing the offerings that have been made to the ghosts. The term *hata aabu* is applied both to the priests who are responsible for the worship of ancestors like Leo, and to those who are concerned with the worship of ancestors who became incarnate in sharks, as well as to the priests who serve the war ghosts. In general practice each large island has two priests, one for the ancestral worship, the other for the war ghosts and for shark worship.

The succession of the priesthood of the ancestral worship at Sulu Vou is as follows : 1. Leo, 2. Marukua, 3. Vuvura, 4. Fili'ei, 5. Sulubasi, 6. Lau vanua, 7. Oli i langi. That Leo was the first of the priests was due to the fact of his being newly established at Sulu Vou and to his lack of a brother who would act as priest. Evidently when Marukua grew up he replaced his father as priest. Later on the succession passed to Leo's second son, Vuvura, and so on with Fili'ei and Sulubasi, son and grandson of Vuvura. After that it passed to the grandson of Lau vanua, Leo's youngest son, and so to Oli i langi, who is a man now of some seventy years of age. The transference of the priesthood from the main branch of the chiefly family at Sulu Vou, that of Vuvura, to the youngest branch was due probably to the increase in the numbers of the chiefs. But the chiefs of the main line did not renounce or lose their right to sacrifice to their ancestors. In Lau, in later years, a chief only exercised his right to sacrifice if the priest was unwilling to do so. A priest, however, would refuse at the risk of his life, for the ancestral ghosts in their anger would cause his death.

Certain men are attached to the priest as his assistants, and are known as "The men who eat the ghost," or "The men who pray." They eat of holy things along with the priest, but separately and apart. The priest also is said to "eat" the ghost, *i.e.* to sacrifice to him. At all times of ceremonial eating of holy things, *e.g.*, at the porpoise-hunting, due order and separation is observed: the priests eating apart, the assistants by themselves, the various crews of the canoes, or the various companies of people by themselves, according to the particular ghost whom they worship. There is no indiscriminate mingling of the diners; for if such a mingling took place, it would result in bodily swellings, the sign of the disapproval of the ghosts. The rank and file of the people, those who are not instructed in religious ceremonial, the laity as we should say, are known as *fakamola*, a word which means "make of no account," or "make common." At the big feasts, the fakamola grabbed what they could of the cooked pieces of pork and made off with them.

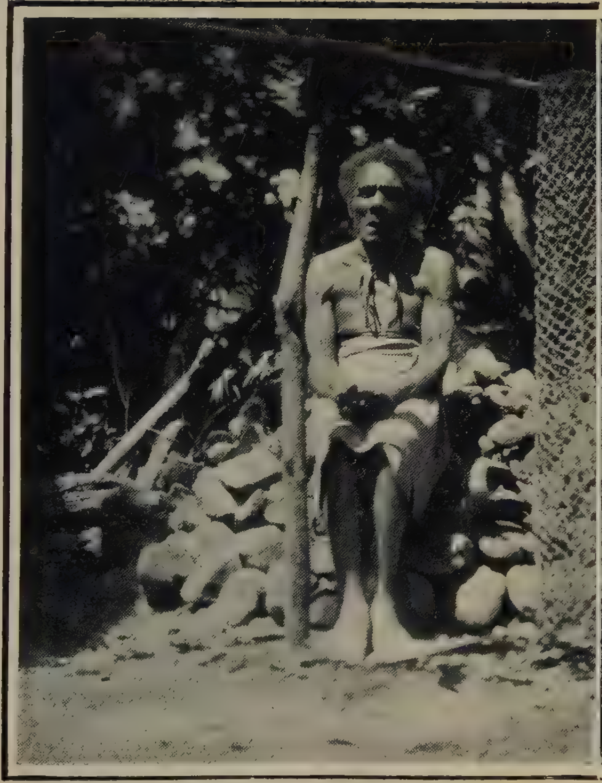
The priest who to-day at Sulu Vou has the sole right of sacrifice to Sina Kwao is Buga. His father was a Fuaga chief and his mother was of the chiefly family of Sulu Vou. He settled on Sulu Vou in order to take up priestly duties in connexion with the worship of Sina Kwao, the war ghost whose relics are at Sulu Vou and Fuaga. His ancestors had carried out similar duties at Fuaga whence the Sulu Vou relics had come. There was a plot on the part of certain people to kill Buga, and his life was in danger, so he migrated to the larger village of Sulu Vou where protection would be assured him. His predecessor as Sina Kwao's priest at Sulu Vou was a man of the chiefly line which is represented to-day by Gwaliasi. This explains the fact of Gwaliasi having the right of entry into Buga's beu where the relics of the war ghosts are kept. Gwaliasi would cede his rights to Buga as being the more or less hereditary priest of Sina Kwao. Buga is also the one man at Sulu Vou who has to do with the worship of sharks. There is no shark altar at Sulu Vou, but certain attentions are paid there to those ancestors who are incarnate in sharks. The big shark altar is at Fuaga, with Buga as the priest. Buga's connexion with the shark worship has endowed him with a special sacred character. No one may touch his head or cut his hair, and any man who presumed to cut Buga's hair would be eaten by one of the ancestral sharks, or would be killed by a sting-ray. Judge then of my dismay when Buga came and asked for the loan of my scissors to cut his hair with !

Buga is sent for to conduct the ceremonies at the big feasts, and to make the sacrifices to the ancestral ghosts in many places south of Sulu Vou, both on the artificial islands and up on the foothills. He is always given a fee, a shell-money or porpoise teeth. Knowing that Jack Talofuila, priest in the Melanesian Mission at Fou Ii'a, was given exemption from paying the annual poll tax, Buga also applied for exemption saying that he, too, was a hata aabu. The ruling went against him on the ground that he could well afford to pay the tax.

The priests are the members of the community whose minds are stocked with the knowledge of the things of the past. There is a vast store of knowledge of religious ceremonial and of incantations and prayers hidden away in their minds, and it is they who know the folklore tales. Buga, in particular, is well furnished in this respect, but he was unwilling to communicate any of his knowledge to me. Gwaliasi of Sulu Vou gave me what information I received about Sina Kwao. He, too, is a man with great stores of knowledge, and he was less reticent than Buga, who was weighted with a strong sense of his official position. The rest of the chiefs, except Oli i langi the priest of Leo, knew but little of the religious ceremonial, having given up the actual practice of conducting religious ceremonies. The rank and file of the people do not concern themselves with these things, and are content to leave them to the priests.

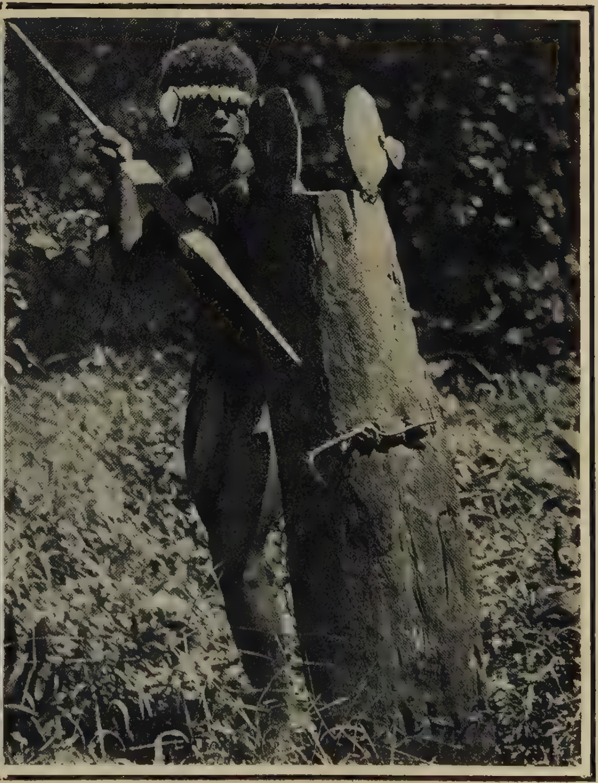
The duties of a priest like Oli i langi at Sulu Vou are connected with the sacrifices offered to the ancestral ghosts at the times of great feasts, at dedications of fishing-nets, at the porpoise-hunting, at the dedication of a new beu aabu or the decorated canoe, at the annual planting of yam gardens, or the planting of a taro garden intended for a big feast. He offers the sin-offering, a pig burnt and then buried, to purge a man who has killed a near relative. He intercedes for the sick and offers a burnt-offering of a pig to the ghosts on their behalf. He makes offerings of coco-nuts or of areca nuts to the ghosts when men return after a voyage or after prolonged absence overseas. He and his assistants kill and eat pigs sacramentally on behalf of those who wish to make an offering to their dead parents or ancestors ; they also superintend the removal of the skulls of the dead to Ngwalo.

The formal reception of the younger lads into the men's beu falls to the lot of the priest. To utter a curse against a priest is a crime equivalent to cursing Sina Kwao, or to cursing one's father's grave. Such a curse demanded the killing of some person in order to restore a state of sanctity. The offering of first-fruits of the yam and taro crops or of the almonds is not the province of the priests, but is carried out by the heads of families. Matters that have to do with the imposition of tabu are in the province of the chiefs, or of the



OLI I LANGI, PRIEST OF SULU VOU

HE IS SEATED ON THE STONES WHICH COMPOSE THE ALTAR WHERE HE OFFERS BURNT OFFERINGS AT TIMES OF DEATH FEASTS.



WOODEN SHIELD, MALA

THESE WOULD TURN SPEARS OR ARROWS.

owners of the particular thing which it is desired to tabu. Divination, the practice of all white magic, except where the capture of a man-eating crocodile or shark is concerned, is not the business of the priests. The practice of black magic is not a true part of ancestral worship, and the priests have nothing to do with it.

The priest who serves Sina Kwao is charged nowadays with the performance of all the ceremonies connected with war and fighting. Descendants of 'O'ona, the one-time priest of Manu eu where was the burial-place of those who became incarnate in sharks, carried out the malevolent ceremonies connected with the worship of shark ancestors. These men are called in when it is desired to compass the death of a shark or a crocodile which has eaten anybody.

The terms used to denote altars in Lau are: 1. *lasi*, 2. *gwou lumu*, 3. *bae*, 4. *fafaraa*. A general term which covers all these is *fulii ere* (place of fire). Number 1, lasi, is situated outside and in front of the beu aabu, and at Sulu Vou is placed on the west side. In the photograph on p. 152 the priest Oli i langi may be seen seated on the stones of the lasi. The fence on the landward side surrounding the bae abuts on to the lasi. The altars are composed of the hard rocks which are ordinarily used for cooking. The rocks are set in a circle, and care is taken to pile them up when they are not in use. The term lasi is used also of the space immediately in front of the beu aabu where the chiefs and priests forgather, and where at Sulu Vou there is a shed in which they work.

Number 2, gwou lumu, is inside the beu aabu to the left of the doorway in the part separated by a partition from the main beu aabu. The term *gwou lumu*, or *gwai lumu* means "mossy head," and refers to the mould which gathers on the heap or head of stones when they are not in use.

Number 3, bae, is the section of the island into which the bones of the dead are cast. A bae in Lau is the equivalent of the *pirupiru* of Sa'a where the bones of the dead were placed and where sacrifice was carried out. No sacrifices are actually made in the bae at Sulu Vou, probably owing to restrictions of space. The use of the word *bae* in connexion with the shark altars on the mainland proves that sacrifices were made originally in the places where the bones of the dead were placed.

Number 4, fafaraa, the altar used for the offerings of first-fruits, is situated inside a chief's beu, in the rear portion where the dead are buried and their skulls are kept temporarily. Yams offered to the ghosts are placed alongside the fafaraa, old disused fishing-nets are hung round it. Moge nets and fishing lines are dedicated at the fafaraa altar. Pigs may also be offered there after the soul of the dead has been fished for and caught. Some fafaraa are situated in the open in the women's quarters, marking the spot where some important person dropped dead or where he died. Such a fafaraa at Fera subua is shown on p. 272.

At Sula Vou there is an altar site in front of the beu aabu marked by a big flint stone set up on end, and with a stick stuck up to prevent boys knocking against it during their play in the playground which lies in front of it. Sacrifices to Sina Kwao may be made on this site. The wood used in sacrifice is the ordinary firewood used in cooking, and there is no restriction as to choice. No sacredness is attached to any particular tree except to the *tabaa*, a tree of light wood used for making bowls and for the *isu* of canoes. The *tabaa* must not be used for firewood, owing to the fact that the skulls of the dead are put into receptacles made from its wood.

When a new altar is made, a coal from an old altar is taken and put in the fire in order to preserve the continuity. This is done when people change their location, as in Tolo, following the removal of a village to a new site. When the Christians occupied Fou Ii'a, and the worship of ancestor sharks at Manu eu in the rear of the village ceased, the priests who officiated at Manu eu took away a coal from the altar there to start the new altar in another place.

The general term for sacrifice in Lau is *naare boso*, or *nakasi boso*, where *naare*, *nakasi*, are the words in ordinary use for roasting food on hot stones or over a fire, and *boso*=pig. Apart from the sacrificial or sacramental roasting of pigs' flesh there is no eating of pork by the peoples of North Mala. The pigs eaten at feasts are first of all definitely offered to the ancestral ghosts. Sacrifices of pigs are spoken of as *kwaisuusia* or *kwaia suusia*, propitiatory, *kwai* meaning "kill," and *suusi* "on behalf of," "protecting." This applies particularly to sacrifices intended to propitiate dead relatives and ancestors, to the offering made for one who has killed a near relative, and to offerings of pigs in order to remove sickness. When a pig is burnt whole, as in the offering for a sick person, the sacrifice is called *suu boso* (burn up a pig). The pig killed as an omen before a fight is known as "pig wrapped up," owing to its body being wrapped up in dry coco-nut leaves. The pigs for a feast are killed after the priest has prayed over them. The killing of them takes place at some place other than one of the altars, and the name kwaisuusia which is applied to the pigs indicates that they are consecrated to the ghosts, and that the eating of them is regarded as a sacrament in which the ghosts share. The pigs destined for such feasts are not fed by women, they are not allowed to go where they might tread in any woman's footsteps, nor may they be seen by women. Pigs are burnt whole as offerings to the ghosts on the following occasions: (1) At the porpoise-hunting; (2) at the dedication of a new turtle-net; (3) at the launching of the canoe called baru kwaoa; (4) at the inauguration of a new beu aabu; (5) at the planting of a yam garden or a taro garden which is intended to provide the food for a feast; (6) when it is desired to remove the protection of an ancestral ghost from a near relative; (7) previous to a war or a fight to serve as an omen as well as a sacrifice; (8) on the payment of blood-money; (9) as an offering for a sick man; (10) to appease the wrath of the war ghosts. There is a further sacrifice called *boko usia fualangaa*, close over fualangaa, which is made for a man who has killed a near relative without having offered the sacrifice, *lui agalo* (6), in order to remove the protection of the ghost. In this case the pig is buried, after having been first burned. The man who has committed such a homicide is driven out from the village, and the sacrifice is made in order that he might return.

All sacrifices except Number 7, the sacrifice for war, are made at daylight. Number 7 is made at night, either in the beu aabu or at the lasi altar; and the leader of the fight, or the person going to war, assists the priest. Both the lasi and the gwai lumu altars are used indifferently for all the sacrifices.

In Lau, pigs are eaten sacramentally in the following cases:

1. A chief's daughter who is married and living elsewhere is given money by her husband to buy a pig. She feeds it up, and when it is big it is taken to her old home and given to the priest. He and his assistants kill and cook it, and then eat it. It is a propitiatory offering to the ancestral ghosts. 2. A man may set aside two or three pigs which are to be killed and eaten later on with a view to benefiting his deceased father and to provide his ghost with food. The pigs are called *boso ni maomaa*, and the eating of them forms more or less of a maoma feast. 3. A man when sick makes a thank-offering of a coco-nut to the ancestral ghosts which the priest places in the beu aabu. After recovery a pig is bought and dedicated to the ghosts. It is eaten sacramentally later on when big enough. 4. If an eagle pounces on a pig in a village, a man who sees it will cry aloud and say: "Let go! Hold off! I will give it to you to-morrow!" The eagle hears and lets go. On the next day the man takes that pig, or some other, and kills and offers it to the eagle on the altar. He and his relatives then eat it. This is a Tolo practice in origin, and

the eagle is worshipped by the Tolo people and by the people of Fera ta'a on Ngwalulu Island.

Men will roast and eat yams or taros as a definite offering to ancestral ghosts in order to secure good harvests or good luck with the net-fishing. The process is called "roasting to the ghost."

The offerings made to ancestral ghosts include coco-nuts, areca nuts, taro, tobacco, shell-money, porpoise teeth. Coco-nuts are offered on return from voyages or after a prolonged absence overseas. They are given to the priest, who places them in the beu aabu. Coco-nuts are also offered in cases of sickness, and at the dedications of new nuts, the priest saying prayers over them. These and all offerings to the ghosts are called *ngara*. When the coco-nuts rot, they are taken out of the beu aabu, and are thrown on to a rubbish heap in the bae which is known as "the rubbish heap of the ngara." The use of coco-nuts in such offerings is due partly to their scarcity in Lau. The crew of a canoe which is drawing near to its destination when on a voyage overseas, will throw a coco-nut into the sea as an offering to the ancestral sharks who are supposed to accompany the canoe. A man who returns after a prolonged absence from home gives an areca nut to the priest, who thereupon bites it and eats it, offering a prayer the while to the man's ghosts and begging them not to visit him with sickness. At the conclusion of a maoma feast an areca nut or a porpoise tooth is placed in the bag kept for the purpose.

Porpoise teeth and shell-money discs are thrown into the bae as offerings ; tobacco may also be offered thus.

An offering of a few discs of shell-money is made by a man who has been proved guilty by divination of cursing the porpoise-hunting. At the porpoise-hunting a cuscus opossum is weighted with a stone and thrown alive into the sea as an offering to the ghosts.

There is a formal dedication of pigs and dogs at the porpoise-hunting. They are bought locally at Bita'ama where the party lodges during the hunting. Each one bears the name of a particular ghost associated with the porpoise-hunting. The pigs are dedicated by the calling of the ghost's name together with a slap, and the ceremony is called "Slapping the pig." A pig may also be thus dedicated when a turtle-net is being made. Coco and areca palms are devoted to shark ghosts, and only those men may eat of them who worship the particular shark ghost to whom they are devoted. The fruit of such palms might be given in malice to a man in order to cause his death.

The fees paid to a priest for sacrificing or for praying are called *suusuua*, and they are paid in shell-money or in porpoise teeth. It is a sign of the times that Buga is said to get now and again porpoise teeth that are broken at the points or in the perforations at the base.

Some of the artificial islands have shark altars on them, others have a shark bae on the shore. The shark altars are all called *bae*, or *bae 'ana baekwa*, the bae belonging to the sharks. Sulu Vou made use of 'O'ona's bae at Manu eu behind the present village of Fou Ii'a. Since its demolition, offerings have been made to sharks in a shallow place alongside Sulu Vou. The offerings consist of sucking-pigs, dogs, cats, cuscus opossums. A stone is tied round their necks and they are thrown out for the sharks to eat. This may be done as a thank-offering for recovery from sores which are caused supposedly by sharks. If the son of a chief suffers from such sores special attention is paid to the worship of the ancestral sharks. Fuaga has a shark altar which is served by Buga, and a big pig is killed and eaten there when a chief's son belonging to one of the neighbouring islands is afflicted with sores. There is a ceremonial feeding of these sharks at Fuaga and also at Auke, and Buga said to me that his sharks came and took their pigs when their names were called. The two shark bae at Manu eu were similar in formation to the ordinary altars; flint stones were set in a ring in the ground to form the altar and keep the whole in place. The bones of the dead were laid round the bae, and dracænas were planted near. On a third altar pigs were offered in sacrifice to 'O'ona himself.

No case of human sacrifice has occurred in Lau in recent generations, nor is the practice as such known to the people. The 'ae ni mae sagas speak of the killing of numbers of people as victims by the war ghosts at the dedication of the beus which they built. The killing of Toli and the taking of his head by Sina Kwao to serve as a victim belongs to this category. They are all reminiscent of a former practice of human sacrifice. In modern days a victim was sought and killed after the launching of the decorated canoe. This practice, too, has its origin in the custom of human sacrifice. There is a Lau story of the building of a large beu on the coast near Sulu Vou, when the daughter of a chief was actually buried at the foot of the main pillar. Its modern equivalent is found in the practice of burying certain leaves and tops of shrubs at the foot of the main post of a large beu. The snake called *loi* is worshipped by the hill people in certain districts. Snakes are not eaten, though no hesitation is shown in killing them.

The word that expresses ceremonial uncleanness in Lau is *sua*, which means " to encounter." It is applied both to men and women, and also to things. Men contract ceremonial uncleanness by touching inadvertently a menstruous woman or a woman during her thirty days' confinement after childbirth. Purification is effected by giving the priest an areca nut to eat. Difficult parturition among women is considered to be due to ceremonial uncleanness on their part, owing to a man other than their husbands having slept on their kauve, or having cohabited with them. After divination, the man confesses and pays a fine, and the woman's delivery is expedited. The failure of a fishing-net to catch fish is attributed to sua caused by someone having maliciously cursed it, or to fishermen coming out too late and arriving after the net was set. Women must not handle the fishing nets lest the nets become defiled; and to provide against possible mishaps the nets are kept near the men's beus. Canoes containing women pass at a considerable distance from nets hung out to dry on the edges of the islands. Special care is taken with the turtle-nets in order to keep them from becoming contaminated by women. No woman may see them during the making, nor may women watch the fleet setting out with a turtle-net. The various pieces of the ordinary fishing-nets may be made in the women's quarters, but they are joined up in the men's beus in order to avoid their becoming sua. If a man's pipe falls under a woman's legs it becomes sua and is given to the woman in question. A child crossing a man's handbag causes it to become sua, and a fine has to be paid. A man's pig must not pass under a woman's legs, nor must his lime-box or his bamboo water-carrier be taken into the bisi or into the married quarters. If a fighting-man were thus made sua he purged himself by going out and killing someone. Ordinary folk would demand a fine in such cases. Should a woman tread on an altar site, thereby causing it to become sua, the only way to purge the altar was by a homicide. Men are quite free to eat and sleep in the married quarters, and will go out with the fishing-nets after coming from their homes. Special care, however, is taken with the turtle-net, and the fishermen refrain from visiting their homes when engaged in turtle-fishing.

The word *mola* is used in Lau to denote a thing that is ordinary, common, with no sanctity attached to it, or a thing that has lost its sanctity. After the performance of sacred rites the priest and his assistants make themselves "common," *faamola*, by bathing in the sea and striking themselves with sprigs of dracæna.

Indiscriminate eating on ceremonial occasions will cause bodily swellings. At the porpoise-hunting the priest and his assistants, the crews of the various canoes, the different sections of men who are assisting, all eat separately and apart, each and all having regard to the particular ghost or ghosts whom they invoke and under whose protection they are. Those who eat any forbidden fish will also have bodily swellings. Such swellings occur also when a man has trodden inadvertently on holy ground, sites of old altars, or has inadvertently handled holy things.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Sharks and Crocodiles

THE worship of sharks is practised amongst all the coastal peoples of North Mala, from Uru and Ngongosila on the east coast, to Auke and Langalanga on the west. At Suu Harbour there is, in addition, a worship of crocodiles. The sharks and crocodiles that are worshipped are considered to be the incarnations of ancestors. The name that is proper to sharks, *baekwa*, is applied in Lau and in Tolo to crocodiles and sting-rays also, and to a certain snake as well, which is regarded as being particularly deadly. The term *baekwa* connotes any creature that is destructive of human life. The giant monitor lizard, said to have been killed by Sina Kwao, is also classed as a baekwa. The proper name of crocodiles is *fuasa*, but they are generally called *moko toro*, or by transposition, *moro toko* (smell the woman's apron), owing to their habit of seizing women who are standing in the water. Crocodiles, when killed, are found to have stones in their stomachs, and it is popularly supposed that a crocodile swallows a stone for every person it seizes. In the north-east lagoon crocodiles are scarce, but in Suu they are numerous. It was told me that Irobaoa, the chief of Suu, and his people will not kill a crocodile, and that the crocodiles, in turn, do not kill the Suu people. The abstention from killing crocodiles is easy enough to understand, seeing that they are held to be the incarnations of ancestors; but judging from the habits of crocodiles elsewhere, it is hard to believe that the Suu ones are so kindly disposed towards their so-called human relatives. The Lau people hold a similar belief with regard to shark incarnations, saying that the sharks belonging to Manu eu, who are incarnations of 'O'ona's descendants, will not attack persons who are " related " to them. It cannot be doubted that attacks on such people are made by both sharks and crocodiles ; but it is easy enough to explain away the attack by saying that the *baekwa* was a " wild," *i.e.* unowned shark or crocodile, and was not an " ancestor."

When a crocodile appears in the north-east lagoon, no rest is given it till it disappears or is killed. Should it seize anybody its doom is sealed. The priests of 'O'ona's line are summoned to throw *bulu* on it, once its hiding-place in the mangroves has been found. The *bulu* is an incantation that prevents a " wanted " crocodile or shark moving away from its accustomed place and escaping before it can be killed. Nets and weapons are got ready for the baekwa, and the priests go out with a company in canoes to surround it. The priests carry sprigs of dracæna and other trees which possess magical power, and they say the *bulu* which is to make the baekwa head for the nets. Once it is surrounded it is killed with much shouting and noise. No questions are asked as to whether it is anyone's ancestor ! If a shark seizes a Lau man in a canoe in deep water outside the reef, the rest of the people get to shore as fast as they can. Were a man seized thus in the shallower waters of the lagoon, every effort would be made to save him. There is never any thought of not interfering owing to the possibility of the shark being an incarnation of an ancestor. The Suu people, doubtless, show similar mentality with regard to crocodiles, should they seize a Suu person. At Suu there is an altar for baekwa on the shore near to the artificial islands where the crocodile worship is carried out. It is said that crocodiles will climb into canoes at Suu, just as shark incarnations are supposed to do at Sa'a. The crocodile is asked what he wants and is then bidden to go in peace.

In 1927, while I was at Fou Ii'a a crocodile seized a lad at night at Funaa Vou. It was seen later on in our part of the lagoon, and its presence there caused a great deal of commotion. The Fou Ii'a pigs, which were always getting out of the styes, were rounded up assiduously lest the crocodile get them at night on the beach. The tracks of the crocodile were found both on our beach and at one of the landings on Sulu Vou, and watch was kept for it on moonlight nights. Every now and again one heard cries and shouts from Sulu Vou when someone was supposed to have seen the crocodile. On our side men watched with shot-guns, government rifles, spears and axes, and one night there was a fusillade of shots, but the object turned out to be a floating log. The Funaa Vou people put out a reward of shell-money for the killing of the crocodile. It was found to be hiding in the mangroves, and a party went from Sulu Vou and Ada Gege with nets and spears and government rifles to catch or shoot it. In the Sulu Vou canoes were two shark priests from a hill village, who were to put down a magic barrier, and to throw bulu on the crocodile in order to prevent its escape. The nets were spread and the crocodile was seen. Sulu Vou men dashed into the water and headed the crocodile towards the nets. The thought of losing the reward was too much for the Ada Gege men, who had visions of earning it by shooting the crocodile with the government rifles which they carried. One of them menaced Gwaliasi with his rifle, another cut the net down with a scrub knife. In the mêlée the hand of a Sulu Vou man, who was trying to protect his chief's net, tore a singlet which the Ada Gege policeman was wearing. The crocodile escaped and bitter recriminations followed. To cut a net or to curse it is to flout its owner, and such conduct, in old days, would have led to war. A case against the Ada Gege people was stated to the Government, but the honour of the policeman was adjudged to be the point at issue, and the Sulu Vou man who tore the policeman's singlet was given a term of imprisonment. The crocodile was caught later on at Funaa Vou with a shark-hook belonging to a Fou Ii'a man, who received the reward.

'O'ona of Manu eu, who invited Leo to come and settle near him, was a shark priest, and there were two shark altars at Manu eu, one called "the men's bae," the other called "the women's bae." They were situated on the side of a hill just above the water edge, and below them at sea level was an opening called "the shark's entry," into which sharks were said to bring victims. Bones of the dead were laid at the foot of the big barringtonia tree which overshadowed "the shark's entry." Sacrifices of pigs were made at the altars to ancestral sharks, *i.e.* to dead and gone ancestors of 'O'ona, who were said to be incarnate in sharks. The shark worship at Manu eu must therefore have been in existence long before the days when Leo settled in the neighbourhood. The Manu eu priests confined their attention mainly to the shark worship, but they had power over crocodiles as well. In North Mala the worship of the particular baekwa in question, shark or crocodile, seems to depend on which of the two is more in evidence at any given place. In Suu, the crocodiles are more numerous, and the worship of the baekwa is more concerned with them than with sharks; in the north-east lagoon crocodiles are scarce, owing to the trade-wind blowing straight in, while sharks are fairly common, and the baekwa altar is mainly for shark worship. Leo, after settling on Sulu Vou, did not build a shark altar, and his descendants who were married to Manu eu women participated in the shark worship at the shore altars.

Not every shark is regarded as an incarnation of an ancestor. The Lau people clearly recognize a distinction between the different kinds of sharks, some of which they know as "man-eaters" and some as "fish-eaters." The latter kind abounds at feast-times when pigs are killed and the offal is thrown into the sea round the artificial islands. These "fish-eating" sharks will not readily attack a human being, and if one of them appears when a net is set, it is frightened off by throwing rocks at it and by shouting. They will only attack a man when they are trodden on by fishermen who are clearing the nets, or when they are kicked by a swimmer. The man-eating shark attacks without any such provocation.

Shark worship on Mala has some beneficent features, but its general character is distinctly malevolent. The man-eating sharks that are worshipped are considered to be incarnations of ancestors, and their primary function is to save and protect their worshippers who are of their family. The Lau porpoise-hunters will call on any sharks they see when out hunting to aid them in their efforts. In particular, the ancestral shark is the protector of his "relatives" when they are making a sea-voyage. He travels along with them and keeps off "wild" sharks, and when they reach the land where they are going, *e.g.* Gao or Ulawa, they throw a coco-nut into the sea as an offering to him. Sulu Vou and Ada Gege people under the leadership of Kwaisulia of Ada Gege made a voyage in canoes to Gao, Ysabel Island. Some of the canoes returned safely, but Kwaisulia elected to return later, stating the day of his departure in order that his people might know when to expect him.

Days passed and there was no sign of him. The weather was very bad, and it was assumed that he and his crew had perished. The women wailed and lamented, and the men gathered in groups and discussed the probabilities of the canoe being drifted to this place or that. Kwaisulia duly set out on the day appointed, but a heavy storm came up from the west and drove the canoe away from the Mala coast. The rain blotted out the land and prevented them from getting their bearings. They lost count of the days and gave themselves up for lost. What food they had was all eaten up and death was very near. Then a shark appeared and informed them, through an interlocutor, that he was a Manu eu shark, their ancestor, and was come to save them. He seized the canoe and carried them to a place on the east coast of Mala, two days' journey south of their home. They rested there for a few days, and then proceeded home, where they were welcomed with abounding joy. A priest of Manu eu said afterwards that he had dreamed of Kwaisulia's safe arrival, but forbore to say anything about it because he was not certain.

It seems probable that this idea of guardianship and protection on the part of ancestral sharks is the primitive idea connected with the worship of them, and that the malevolent practices associated with the worship sprang from the introduction of magic into Mala at a later period.

There are definite stories in Lau of foreigners in outrigger canoes who coasted round the north end of Mala and left *fou* (magical stones), with the accompanying invocations, at various places by means of which porpoises and bonito could be caught. To-day the term *fou*, *alu fou* (place a rock), is used in connexion with the magical incantations to prevent a " wanted " shark or crocodile leaving the place where it has been located. Once magical practices were introduced, the priests of the existing shark worship would see in them an opportunity to gratify any feelings of malice or ill-will which they might entertain towards any person. When the aboriginal people had come to believe that they could control fish by magical practices, it was not a far step to use that control over ancestral ghosts incarnate in the form of sharks and crocodiles for the gratification of their malice. The well-known character of sharks would lend itself to the purpose. Everywhere on Mala the use of malevolent magic is attributed to malice and jealousy on the part of those who practise it.

After the death of a chief of Manu eu a violent storm would occur with thunder and lightning. The ancestral sharks then went off to seek a victim. The priest dreams that they have returned, and, on going to see, he finds a man thrown at the mouth of the sharks' retreat, alive but speechless. He thereupon ties a creeper loosely round his neck and the man dies. He is then thrown to the sharks to be eaten. On one occasion the sharks are said to have returned with a canoe containing three men, an Ulawa canoe by the look of it; the men were speechless and were unable to move. The priest scolded the sharks for bringing the canoe as well as the men; it was not the right thing to do at all! When a woman of the Manu eu family died, a shark appeared next morning with a victim. The altar on Manu eu, beside which their bones were laid, was more powerful than that belonging to the men.

A practice connected with the shark worship was called "Invoking the mouth of a shark," and it amounted to a sending out of an ancestral shark to seize a victim. The Manu eu priests are credited with securing the death of people in the following way: when it was desired to kill a man who was too great a fighter to be tackled openly, or who was too important a person, a slight incision was made with a flint in the keel of a canoe in which the man was about to travel. When the canoe was in the open sea the plank burst and the whole party was drowned. Another reported practice was merely dictated by malice. A flint was flaked, and the flake thrust into the husk of a coco-nut or into a barringtonia fruit, and the nut was then set adrift. A man at sea would go to pick up the nut, and a shark would seize him by the hand.

Ancestral sharks are supposed not to seize those who can claim relationship with Manu eu people, but it seems that sometimes they make mistakes. The story is told of two men who were gathering shell-fish in the lagoon at low tide; one was a Tolo man, the other of Manu eu stock. A shark seized the Tolo man and carried him off into deep water. The other man called to the shark and said: "Bring him back, bring him back, you have made a mistake; he is one of us, he is a member of our family." The shark heard the appeal of his relative, and brought the man back wounded and torn, but still alive. The two of them went ashore and bought a pig which they threw to the shark as an offering.

CHAPTER NINE

Porpoise and Turtle Hunting

THE hunting of porpoises is a practice of the Lau and Suu peoples, and also of the peoples of Auke and Langalanga. The formal salutation of Auke: *Auke lifoi ii'a* (Auke of the porpoise teeth), is a proof of the ancientness of the practice of porpoise-hunting on the part of its people. Porpoises frequent the waters in the neighbourhood of Bita'ama Harbour, near the north cape of Mala, where the strong tides bring them abundance of food. The magical incantations in connexion with the porpoise-hunting, and the practice itself, are said by the Lau people to have been learned from immigrants who dropped the " magic stone for porpoises " at Bita'ama, at Maakwanu, the opening in the reef off Funaa Vou, at Ngongosila and at Uru. Porpoises were caught at all of these places in the past, but the waters near Bita'ama furnish the best fishing. A larger kind of porpoise, which is only used for eating, and has not the teeth which form the money currency, is caught off Tae, the opening in the reef opposite Sulu Vou. The immigrants are also said to have dropped a magic stone for bonito opposite Tae.

There are three different sizes of the porpoises which provide the teeth used as currency, and each fish has one hundred and fifty teeth. The teeth are named according to their sizes: *robo*, large size; *una bulu*, middle size; *raa*, small size. The large size forms the currency and is used to pay wages, as hire of canoes, and for all purchases; the middle size is used for the bride-price and as part of the blood-money; the small size is kept for bodily ornamentation. A string of porpoise teeth or a shell-money is spoken of as *'ae ni mani*, a *mani*, and the people say that *mani* is a Mala word, but it seems more likely to be the English word "money." The last porpoise-hunt took place several years ago at Bita'ama, Mr. Bell, the district officer, being present for part of the time. The catch then made was only a small one. Porpoise teeth form one of the monetary currencies of the whole of the Solomons, and the supply in the past came from the porpoises caught by the coastal peoples of North Mala. The porpoise teeth thus provided found their way to places as far apart as Santa Ana in the south-east, and Roviana in the west. Porpoise teeth have been imported of late years from some of the Micronesian Islands in order to supply the deficiency in the Solomons caused by the cessation of porpoise-hunting on Mala.

The hunting of porpoises by the coastal peoples of Mala is definitely a religious thing, and is surrounded with religious practices. It is undertaken in connexion with the death-feast of a chief. In itself it is a matter quite separable from any belief in the power of agalos to furnish the fish, or from the practice of any magical rites. Many years ago the Lau Christian village in Port Adam made preparations to hunt porpoises, like they did in their heathen days. They succeeded in driving the fish inside the harbour, but, for some reason or other, were not able to capture them when they were headed into the shallows among the mangroves. It was told me that the fish were too big for them to drag ashore. The peoples of North Mala have their failures also, but they make a long business of it, and sometimes stay for five or six months at the chosen place.

In Lau the first requisite for porpoise-hunting is the provision of canoes, a special one for the priest and his assistants, which is called "sacred canoe," and new canoes for the company of men associated with the priest in the hunting. This company is known as "the sacred company," and, in several ways, the rites connected with them bear a strong resemblance to those pertaining to the Malaohu boys of Sa'a and Ulawa. The building of the canoes by the Sulu

Vou hunters took place at Bita'ama ; and some time previous to the actual hunting all those engaged set out for the scene of operations in their ordinary canoes, travelling inside the reef as far as Suu, and spending the night at Basakana Island if they were too late to go straight on.

As they leave Sulu Vou there is a ceremonial shooting of an arrow over the fleet of canoes. This, one would think, can hardly be an ancient ceremony, but is rather one connected with the association of Sina Kwao and other ghosts of war with the porpoise-hunting. The purport of the ceremony is to surround the fleet with the protection of a war ghost, and to prevent any malign influences from affecting the hunters adversely. At the bottom of Bita'ama Harbour there is a tidal river into which the porpoises are driven, once they have entered the harbour. The party on arrival proceeds to build a temporary beu for themselves on the bank of this river. A certain amount of food is taken, and fresh supplies are bought from the Tolo peoples on the hills above, or canoes may be sent home to get food. Men and boys from Sulu Vou, other than the sacred company of hunters, join the party, and their services are available for any special need that may arise. The sum total of the canoes built may range from twelve to fifteen, according to the number of the company, each canoe holding four men. Special attention is paid to the building of the priest's canoe, and it is of better workmanship than the rest of the fleet. After the hunting is over it will be put away in a shed when the hunters return home, and will serve for use on further occasions. Once it is finished and ready for use no woman's eye may light upon it. When old and worn out it is carried into the bae at the back of the beu aabu and allowed to rot. The sacred canoes are given names, and one that I saw was called Manuna olu fanua (The bird of three districts). The rest of the canoes have not the same sacredness, but they are not put to common use after the hunting is over.

The ghosts associated with porpoise-hunting by the Sulu Vou people are Leo, the founder of Sulu Vou, Bobo, a ghost connected with the hunting from of old, the Sa'a *akalo ni matawa* (foreign ghosts), Adi lo'a, Uluulu i matawa, Gali asi, and Kwaasi ola, and also Sina Kwao, the war ghost. The hunters buy pigs from the hill people at a local market held at Bita'ama, a pig for each agalo invoked, and dedicate them to the ghost, giving them names and slapping them on the flanks. Three of the names given are Bobo, Gali asi, and Suu Morodo. These pigs are never eaten, their ears are not cut, and they are allowed to go where they please. During the time the hunters are at Bita'ama the pigs enter the men's beu and are free of everything. A dog is also bought and given the name Laelae (Runner). He returns to Sulu Vou eventually with the party, and is the property of the priest, being used for hunting wild pigs. The dedication of pigs and dogs to ghosts is a usual practice of the peoples of Mala.

The bonito canoes are made gay with strips of palm leaf dyed red and tied in bunches to the prows and sterns. These are bought from the hill people, who alone have the art of using the dye. The sides of the sacred canoe are decorated with inlay work of shell, and with designs of clouds and fishes and birds, but the decorative work of the Lau people is much inferior to that of Sa'a or Ulawa. The rest of the canoes are painted with red, white, and blue stripes, and are decorated with red streamers. The various crews eat by themselves, and the priest and his assistants by themselves; no one dares to eat away from his proper companions for fear of angering the ghosts and of provoking them to send a shark to chase the canoes. Till such time as the first catch is made, there is a restriction on eating any cold food that may be left over, and such food is given to the dog and the pigs. This restriction holds until an offering of canarium nuts, sugar-cane, bananas, and coco-nuts is made following upon the first catch. During the building of the canoes the company must not be seen by women;

they get their own wood and water and cook their own food right up till they return home. Women come to the hunting-place at a later stage in order to cook the porpoises when caught. When the company goes to bathe, they choose a pool higher up the stream, right away from any place where women would be likely to go. A boy is sent ahead to clear the way, and any women who may be on the path flee incontinently.

Some time before the first essay of the hunting is made, the Tolo people make a contribution in shell-money to the hunters, and a cuscus opossum is thrown alive into the sea, a stone being tied to it, as an offering to the ghosts. When the long preparation is ended, and all is ready, the fleet puts out to sea, the holy canoe taking a place in the middle. In one account it is said that the arrow of protection is shot at this time. The crews do not wear any ornaments, nor is there any attempt at concealment on their part; the only restriction is that no women must see the fleet put out. As the fleet draws clear of the harbour, the priest sitting in the middle of his canoe begins his incantations, and calls upon the ghosts to send the porpoises. He carries in his hand a rattle made of large seeds which he sounds vigorously as soon as the fish are sighted. No canoe is allowed to approach very close to the sacred canoe, and once the fish are sighted, the sacred canoe paddles clear of the fleet to prevent any chance of its being touched or splashed by the paddles of any of the other canoes. So sacred is this canoe that when it is being taken to the water, or carried up on shore, it is held at arm's length away from the body, lest its touch cause bodily swellings.

When the priest sounds with his rattle, the crews of the canoes paddle away to the fish and form a circle round them. At a further signal from the rattle, all the men shout at the tops of their voices, and make a furious din by clapping together the stones which they have brought with them, and by hitting the water with bamboos in which are a number of pebbles. They begin to head the fish into the harbour, shouting and yelling and clapping the stones and making a splash. When one porpoise leaps out of the sea and turns over, after the porpoise fashion, this is regarded as a sign that the fish are about to make off to the shore. The priest draws up alongside the school of porpoises and talks to them, bidding them " play like children," and they hearing his voice come round his canoe, and in this fashion they proceed to the shore. If the sun is low when the harbour is reached, and there is no time before dark to head the fish into the stream, recourse is had to the magical practice called *fou*, which consists of charming a stone and throwing it into the sea. This prevents the fish from moving till morning. The Langalanga people are credited with a special knowledge of this practice, enabling them to leave the fish and go ashore, one or two canoes presumably remaining as guardians. It was told me that such a case actually occurred also with the Lau people.

The catch is driven into the brackish waters of the stream at the head of the harbour, and there the porpoises stand on their heads in the mud at the bottom, waving their tails about. The Lau men left on shore, and the Tolo visitors from the hills rush into the river, and, throwing their arms round the tails, struggle ashore with the fish. The hill men are stronger than the shore folk and they catch hold of the biggest fish, each man vying with his fellow. If one man slips and falls, someone else immediately grabs his fish ; none is allowed to escape. The stream is alive with men, and the scene is one of the wildest excitement ; men shouting and yelling, staggering ashore with a heavy fish, falling down and being half-choked, the banks of the stream covered with the threshing porpoises, the whole fleet of canoes with their exulting crews blocking the mouth of the stream.

The crews are hot, and thirsty, and tired, and would dearly love to drink and bathe as soon as the catch is disposed of, but there are ceremonial restrictions to be observed even at that time. If a man of the sacred company wishes to drink at the stream on landing, he must first of all find the sacred dog and make it drink before he can satisfy his own thirst. Should the dog refuse to drink, he may force some water down its mouth, or he may even throw it into the stream, in which case he is sure that some water will enter its mouth.

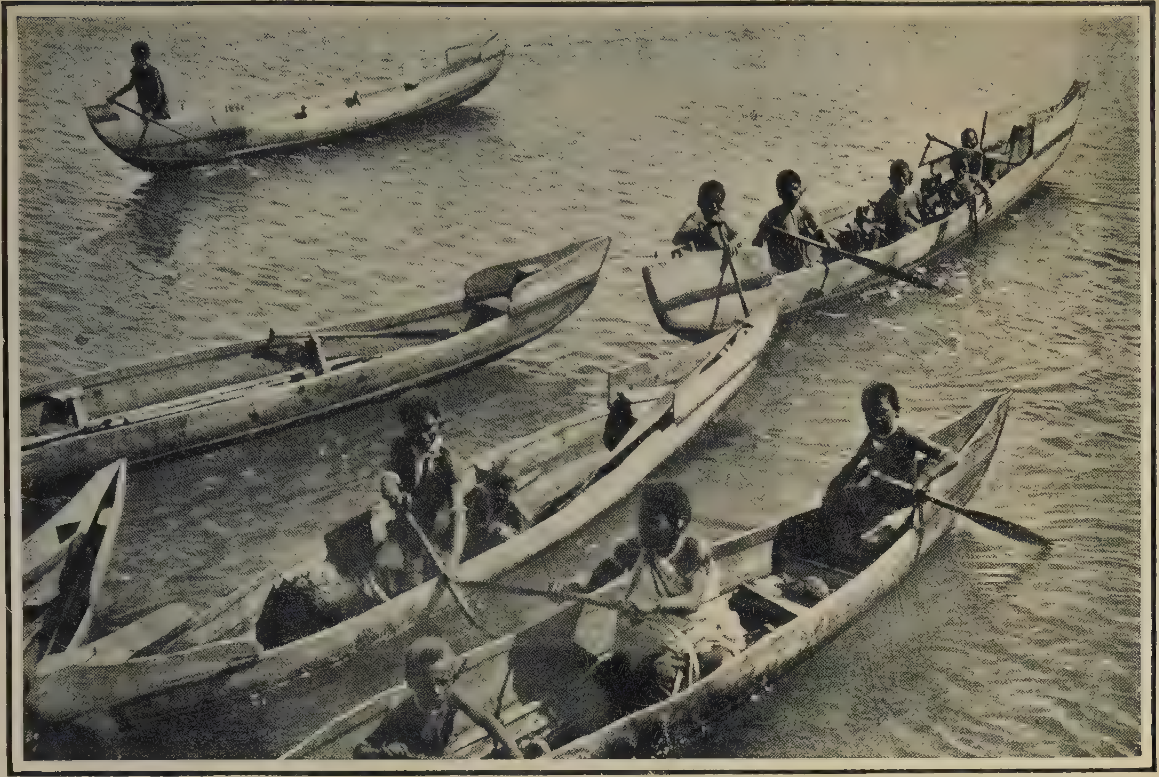
The porpoises are killed and then cut up and roasted, and the cooked flesh is sold to the hill people. The jaws are wrapped up in leaves and roasted in order that the teeth may be easily extracted. A big feast of porpoise flesh follows, but care is taken that pieces are first thrown to the pigs and to the dog before any is eaten by the company. This takes off the sacredness attaching to the flesh, and is one of the reasons for having the pigs and the dog. The women who are present in order to cook the porpoise flesh are allowed to eat of it. A catch might amount to one or two hundred fish, and sometimes a catch of a thousand was made. At the conclusion of the hunting a division is made of the porpoise teeth, the priest and the leader of the expedition get the biggest share, the other chiefs present get the next largest number, some of the teeth are reserved for the chiefs who are left at home, and the rest are divided among the rank and file.

If the hunting fails and fish are not caught, it is presumed that some person present has uttered a curse and blasted the expedition. Recourse is had to divination in order to find out who the guilty man is. The form of divination employed is called : " Hit the log that is pushed." A tree is felled, and a log cut off it and hung suspended on creeper vines over the shoulders of two men who stand one behind the other. Everyone present comes and smacks the log with his hand. As soon as the guilty man hits the log it begins to move, and the two men have all they can do to prevent it tearing itself out of their grasp. At the last hunting a divination of this kind took place owing to no porpoises being caught. The log began to move violently when it was hit by one of the priest's assistants, and the man thereupon confessed that he had cursed the expedition. Reparation is made by giving the priest a few discs of shell-money to throw into the bae at Sulu Vou.

The catching of bonito afforded a welcome break to the crews during their stay at Bita'ama. The waters off Cape Astrolabe are good fishing-grounds for bonito. According to the story of the Morodo man (on p. 287) the catching of bonito must have been a regular practice at Coleridge Bay on the west coast. The flesh of the bonito is eaten alone and without any vegetable relish.

A very special sacredness is attached to a turtle-net, and the making of it is attended by many restrictions. No woman must see the net from the time the men begin to make it till such time as it is worn out. Any infraction of this restriction will cause bodily swellings amongst the men. The parts of ordinary nets might be made by the men in their own homes previous to joining them together in the beu, but from the very first the making of the turtle-net must be done in the beu. The chief who is responsible for the net has to live in the beu from the time the net is actually begun, till the newness has been worn off it by use, and on no account must he go to his home. The nets are made of the bark of a tree called *ngwai*, which is dried and rolled into string. The centre of all the nets is made of string, but the wings are made of strips of bark. Turtle-nets may be made altogether of bark without the use of rolled string.

When the time comes for the taking out of the net, it is loaded on to a big canoe, and the chief who owns it stands over it in the canoe and utters incantations as he strikes it with the twigs of certain trees which he dips in the sea. These incantations are known as "keeping awake." Ada Gege has imported a Fijian custom in the matter of the turtle-net, and allows women both to see the net as it is taken out, and



WOMEN AT PORT ADAM, MALA

THE LAU WOMEN AND GIRLS ARE EXPERT MANAGERS OF CANOES, AND GO OFF TO THE FISH MARKETS IN CANOES UNACCOMPANIED BY THEIR MEN FOLK. THE CANOES ARE PLANK-BUILT.

also to touch it. The Ada Gege chief puts the leaves of certain trees into a bamboo containing water, and sprinkles the net from the bamboo as he goes out to set it. The turtle-nets of Sulu Vou are set outside the reef at the back of the breakers, or in the passage called Urasi. Men dive and knock stones together so as to frighten the turtles out from near the reef and drive them into the net. The meshes of the net are wide enough to allow the turtle's head to enter, and as soon as one is caught by the head a man dives down and fastens its tail fins and its flippers to the net with a line. The net is then hauled up into the canoe with the turtle. Great care is needed on the part of the divers to prevent their becoming entangled in the net by the force of the current. It is not every man who has the skill or the diving powers requisite for this kind of work. Women are allowed to eat turtle at a time subsequent to the hanging out of the net to dry, when the priest has made the necessary clearance, *faageni*, on their behalf. When the net is worn out it is put inside the beu aabu and left there.

Men who are skilled divers tie a rope round their necks and shoulders, leaving one end in the canoe. When a turtle is sighted, the canoe is directed towards it, and the man jumps on to its back and grabs hold of its neck. The turtle dives, carrying the man and dragging the canoe. The chase lasts till the rider succeeds in forcing the turtle to the surface and turning it on to its back. If turtle are found mating, men jump on to the back of one of them without having a rope; and the same thing occurs in the case of a turtle which a party comes across while on a sea-voyage.

The only place on the north-east coast of Mala where turtle come ashore to lay is on the island Basakana. Turtle are caught there at times on the sandy beaches when they are laying.

CHAPTER TEN

War and Fighting

IN the Lau language " war " is known as *omea*, and " to fight " is *firu*. The word omea applies primarily to a war party which has set out on an expedition against a person or a place ; its secondary application is to a state of war existing anywhere. The native weapons used in North Mala for fighting are clubs, bows and arrows, spears, and a wooden shield is carried as a protection against arrows and spears.

The clubs are three in number, and are called *subi*, *dia*, *'alavolo*. The subi is a short club of lozenge shape with a broad blade and sharp edges, and with a ridge down the centre on each side. This ridge is common to all three clubs, and is particularly marked in the case of the 'alavolo. The subi is carried suspended from the wrist by a loop attached to the handle. The Sa'a and Ulawa form of the subi is broader and thinner and slightly shorter than the North Mala form. The subi is not used in attack, but serves to finish off a wounded enemy. It figures in the account of the fight between Sina Kwao and Toli, the two ghosts of war. The dia has a flat top and a tapering handle and is closely allied to the 'alavolo. Examples of the dia are rarely seen nowadays, but formerly it was common to the whole of Mala. It is not quite as long or as stout as the 'alavolo.

The 'alavolo appears to be named from the wound caused by a blow from it : *'ala* (bite), *volo* (across). The young men of North Mala are very fond of carrying an 'alavolo with them by way of giving themselves airs, and when they seat themselves, the end of the 'alavolo is lodged under the thigh and the top rests against the opposite shoulder. This habit explains the allusion *bebesi lato* (resting against the crotch), which appears in the formal salutation of the 'alavolo. The young men also took it with them when they paid visits to their girl friends in the bisi as the allusion *kwate folo i bisi* denotes.

The traditional maker of the 'alavolo is a person called Lau keni (Snatch women), a hill man of Fata Leka. His name is attached to the formal salutation used of the 'alavolo, and that of Fiu Omea (Seven Wars), is attached to the salutation used of the subi. These two ascriptions are important, both because they definitely show that in the mind of the people these two clubs are of local origin, and also because there is no maker's name attached to the salutation of the bow.

The formal salutations of the 'alavolo and subi are as follows :—

'Alavolo i salu	'Alavolo made of casuarina wood
Urunga i sarii	Resting one's head on a girl's shoulder
'Ai ni bebesi lato	Club (wood) held in the crotch
Kwate folo i bisi	Held crossways going into the bisi
Boo hate i alakwa	Support for a young man's chin
'Ai a Lau keni	Club (wood) made by Lau keni.

Subi ni velovelo	Subi made of velovelo wood
Lali i 'ei suungia	Tree-root burned in the fire
Fifili gwau kwao	Choose a grey head
Ogosi kakaro	Smash down the side of a beu
Diu gwou i ramo	Strike the head of a champion
Sau ngwai diina	Kill one's cross-cousin
Manatai burina	Sorry afterwards
'Ai a Fiu Omea	Club (wood) made by Fiu Omea.

Lines six and seven of the second salutation, " Kill one's cross-cousin, sorry afterwards," given to me by my informant, appear to belong to the 'alavolo, since Gwaliasi told me that Lau Keni killed his cross-cousin for having looked at his 'alavolo, which was sacred owing to its shape having been prescribed by his sister. The ridges on it represented the pudenda muliebria.

I received the following story from Mr. N. C. Deck, about a *salu* (a casuarina tree), which seems to be an account of the making of the first 'alavolo. The story hails from the Kwara 'Ae people :—

There was a salu[1] (a casuarina tree), growing at the south end of Little Mala on the east coast near Anuta and Maana wai. This salu ate pigs, and occasionally it ate children also, and for this reason it was cut down. The splinters from it flew on all sides, and all those whom they touched died. The tree itself fell into the sea, and the tides and currents carried it along the coast of Mala to the north. It refused to land at any place where it heard the sound of the shell conch denoting that the people were at war. Finally it reached Fakana kafo, near Uru, and there it stayed because the people were weak and feeble and were not fighters. The stump of the salu was left in the ground, and two children whom Uli (a war ghost) sent to get salt water for cooking saw the stump and disputed with one another as to what it was. One said it was a stump, the other maintained it was a fish. The dispute turned into a fight, and others joined in who had come after the children to see why they were delayed. Many people were killed in this fight.

A man called Olo took the stump to be his 'ae ni mae and built a beu to lodge it in. The Tolo people came down to Fakana kafo to market, and after their manner started to create a disturbance. In the past the Fakana kafo people had never tried to defend themselves against the Tolo disturbers of the peace. But now they retaliated and put the Tolo people to flight. The news of this repulse spread all over the hill country, and when the Fakana kafo people were asked how it was they had become fighters, they put it down to the presence of the salu. A man called Ilu of Okwala, who had not been in the fight, came down to Fakana kafo to see why the shore people had won. He asked for a piece of the salu, and two pieces were sold him for a hundred porpoise-teeth. These he took to a place called Labu i Sata at Okwala. As a result of their presence Ilu began to make war, and took possession of Sakwalo, a place between the two mountains Ala Saa and Tolosi. Sakwalo figures in several legends as the home of war ghosts, fighting heroes. The salu remained at Sakwalo, and a Christian man of Kwara 'Ae recently buried two pieces of it. Other pieces are said to remain in various other places among the hill peoples of Kwara 'Ae.

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[1] Compare the story of the introduction of the casuarina tree by Tongans into Mangaia, and the fighting that ensued. Gill, *Myths and Songs from the South Pacific*, pp. 81, 274.

The connexion of this story with the salu, 'alavolo, of Lau keni given above cannot be doubted. The casuarina tree grows only on the sea-shore, and Lau keni must have obtained the piece of salu to make his club from a tree growing on the beach. The statement about the obtaining of pieces from Fakana kafo only means that the material for clubs was purchased there, at the beach, and the turning of a hitherto peaceful people into fighters owing to their possession of 'alavolo clubs is just what one would expect. At the back of the legend one gets a glimpse of a peaceable state of things which preceded the making of the fighting-club, 'alavolo.

The subi club is made of the wood of the tree called velovelo, a portion of the root being used, and the reference to its being burned in the fire has to do with the old practice of charring a log, in order to reduce its size, before it could be fashioned with stone implements. The sides of a beu in Tolo are covered with plaited-work of rattan cane, and the subi is used in a fight to smash in the walls and gain access to the beu. Fiu Omea is doubtless a war ghost.

War-bows in North Mala are called *basi*. The name basi is also applied to the running sores which occur on the legs of some people from the knee downwards, and which cause the shin bone to assume an elliptical shape like that of a strung bow. Owing to the principle of avoidance, *basi* being associated with the war-bow of Sina Kwao, the Lau people have adopted a Sa'a word, *tau mae*, for bow instead of basi. The salutation of the bow is as follows :

Basi ogina fou	Bow with a back of stone (iron)
Lololo laelae	String it as you go
Firu mae tooa	Fight and halt

Firu dududu	Fight and advance
Oia kwalu duru	Break off many supports
Basi i Raavia	Bow of Raavia
Basi i 'Aena Fou	Bow of 'Aena Fou.

The supports mentioned in line five are forks broken off the trees to serve as rests for the arrow when shooting. Raavia and 'Aena Fou are places in the neighbourhood of Tolosi, Mt. Kolovrat, in the country of the Koio and Faarea peoples. No maker's name is attached to the salutation of the bow, and this leads one to suppose that the name was not known, the people contenting themselves with adding the names of the two places where the bow was first used. There is no reason why the name should have been lost seeing that a name is attached in both of the other cases. The Bae Guu people have a tradition that the bow originally fell from the sky, that it came down like the wind and killed all who came in the way. A further tradition connects the use of the bow with two men called Ro fafana aata (The two who shot for no reason). They belonged to the hill country of the Koio district, but lived in a cave. That the bow is said to have fallen from the sky connects it with foreigners, with sky-chiefs who introduced its use ; and the story of the Ro fafana aata reads like an account of two strangers. Gwaliasi seemed to think that Ro fafana aata were the names of the original makers of the bow on Mala.

A further story told to me is to the effect that bows were first made and plaited in the neighbourhood of the north-west Alite Mountain, Ala Saa, among the Kwara 'Ae people. This may associate them with the foreigners who, under the man called Red-Head, settled in that neighbourhood (*see* p. 291). The use of the *Morinda citrifolia* plant on Mala to make the red dye used in connexion with the strips of rattan cane which serve as the plaiting on spears, etc., can only be due to introduction. The dye is similar to the *al* dye of India, and the *Morinda citrifolia* is the main ingredient of the dye in India as well as on Mala. From Ala Saa the bows are said to have been taken to market at Uru on the east coast, and one of them was exchanged there for a row of white cowries which a man wore round his forehead. This was the only thing that the maker would accept, though he was offered shell-money and porpoise-teeth.

Mr. S. H. Ray cites the Malay *panah* (arrow), as the Indonesian equivalent for the Oceanic words *fana*, *vana* (to shoot with an arrow); and Lau uses either *basi*, or *fana*, with this connotation, but prefers the former word. The presence of the word *fana* (to shoot), in Mala can only mean that it has been introduced from Indonesia, and the three legends quoted, together with the absence of the maker's name in the salutation, serve to strengthen this supposition of a foreign origin for the bow. The numerous stories associating the hill districts of Kwara 'Ae, Fata Leka, and Koio in Big Mala with war ghosts, with the colonization of Mala, and with areca palms, all point to the presence of foreigners in those districts in the dim past. The Bae Guu story of the devastation that followed the appearance of the bow, and the Kwara 'Ae account of the state of war consequent upon the making of the 'alavolo club, both tend to strengthen the thesis that the peoples of Big Mala lived more or less at peace up to a given time in the past.

The spear, rather than the bow, is the weapon of offence amongst the Areare people of Big Mala and the hill people of Little Mala. Originally the bow was the chief weapon both at Sa'a on Little Mala and at Ulawa, and it seems that the change from bows to spears at Sa'a was due to the settlement there of hill chiefs from Little Mala who were more accustomed to the use of the spear. A spear is more suited than a bow for purposes of hill-fighting, where the dense bush renders it difficult to get a clear place for using a bow. The more general use of the bow in the hill districts of North Mala has to be coupled with the presence there in the past of foreigners who introduced its use. The Areare people and also the hill people of Little Mala who are farther away from the centres on North Mala where the bow first came into use seem to have preferred to keep to the spear. The development of the spear as a weapon of offence may have been due to a primitive use of it for spearing fish. Lau canoes, when travelling to strange places, were equipped formerly with both spears and bows, but the Lau man, like all North Mala men, was more used to fighting with bows and arrows. The common term used for " spear " on Mala is *sua*, and it was customary on North Mala to introduce ebony from Gao, Ysabel Island, for use in the making of both bows and spears. No spear-thrower is used on Mala, but the salutation of the bow shows that it was customary to use forks of trees as supports for the arrow when taking aim. The excessive length of some of the To'oa Baita arrows would make a support necessary.

War arrows consist of a shaft made from a reed, with a head of palm-wood. The ends are not notched, and no feathering is used. The barbs may be made of palm-wood, or the midribs of the coco-nut leaf, or the bones of pigs. Certain arrows, called *iio* or *ungae*, have barbs of human bone taken from the bones of a champion. Sina Kwao used an ungae to jab Toli with when he lay concealed in a tree. The wounds caused by these arrows are of a deadly nature, but they may be cured by the use of incantations. The war ghosts are said to empower arrows when shot, and an iio or ungae shot in the power of an agalo would cause a man's death even if it only scratched him. Previous to setting out for a fight, a man would lay his war-bow in the smoke of the sacrificial fire where the pig was being offered. This insured that any arrow shot by the bow would cause death.

Wooden shields from four to six feet high were in use in North Mala. These were stout enough to turn aside a spear or an arrow, and even a rifle bullet might be deflected by them. The shields were rectangular in shape and were cut out of the hardwood called fata or were made of the bark of the talo tree. For all their weight they were taken to the fight and a strong man would carry a shield in his left hand while he brandished a spear with his right. The archer alternately advanced holding a shield and setting it up and firing from its shelter, hence the words of the salutation "Fight and halt, fight and advance." The shields when not in use were placed on a stage over the fire in the beu, where the smoke kept them in a good state of preservation. In the formal salutation of Sulu Vou these words occur: "First to snatch the shields," evincing the readiness of the people to fight when occasion demanded. The shield in the illustration on page 152 was the property of Irobaoa of Suu, and had belonged to his father.

Four wars in which Sulu Vou was involved were due to the following causes: (1) a raid on Mala by the people of Gao; (2) improper conduct on the part of visitors towards the women of the place; (3) foul words used to women at a market; (4) an accusation of the practice of black magic at a feast. The first two took place before the introduction of firearms; the last two occurred after the introduction of firearms, and guns were used.

The first of these wars is known as "the war-party that went to Gao." The expedition was led by Sinelia, the father of Irobaoa, and took place in the 'fifties of last century. The circumstances which led to the expedition were as follows: A party of Ada Gege men on their way to Bugotu, Ysabel Island, landed at an island called Masia off the Bugotu coast. They were on a peaceful errand exchanging porpoise-teeth for shell-moneys, buying pigs and ebony, and exhibiting their dance, but they carried weapons as was customary. At Masia they came across a party from Gao who were on their way to Florida Island. The Gao men received the Mala men in a friendly fashion and gave them food.

Some dispute occurred between the parties, and Sura 'au, a Mala man, wantonly killed a Gao man called Fada. The Mala men went on their way to Bugotu, and the Gao men took their dead companion back home and reported the matter. In due course the Ada Gege canoe returned home, but the wanton behaviour of Sura 'au was about to produce a crop of troubles. The Gao men planned vengeance for Fada's death, and Fasi bou, the chief of Maana Gao, where the dead man belonged, led an expedition to Mala. The peoples of Gao and Bugotu in the 'fifties and 'sixties of last century were notorious head-hunters, and carried out raids all round the coast of Ysabel. The practice of head-hunting seems to have been learned from the people of Roviana, farther west, whose canoes raided Ysabel about this time. The presence of English ships in the Solomons in these two decades, and the distribution by them of iron tomahawk-heads, gave a great impetus to the head-hunting. These tomahawk-heads were mounted on a long handle by the Roviana people, and received the name *kilakila* (stone axe). The use of them spread as far south as Sa'a and Ulawa, and the name " kilakila " went along with it. Fasi bou's expedition to Mala in order to avenge the death of Fada was the first of a number of expeditions to that island carried out by the Gao people. Later on head-hunting raids were made on Maana oba village on the island of Ngwalulu, on Malu'u in Suu, on Fakana kafo near Uru, and on Langalanga.

The Melanesian mind sees no necessity for the punishment of the actual wrongdoer in a case of homicide ; it is quite sufficient if others than the malefactors themselves are killed in revenge. Fasi bou, therefore, planned to go to Basakana Island, which lies off the north cape of Mala, and kill the people there. To-day Basakana is empty, and it has never been continuously inhabited. It is owned by the chiefs of Suu and has always been used by them as a fishing ground. At the time of Fasi bou's expedition the island was occupied by a number of Sulu Vou people who had left their home because of some quarrel, and with them on the island were a few people from Ulu Vera, the artificial island belonging to Sinelia. The Gao people gave out that they had come to do their dance for the Basakana people. It was a common practice in the past for the peoples of Ysabel and North Mala thus to exhibit their dances to one another, and the visitors in each case received a fee. During the dance the Gao men attacked the spectators and are said to have killed forty of them. Their heads were cut off and taken back to Gao. Some of the Suu people were among the number killed, but two of them, who had scented danger, made their escape to Ulu Vera and reported the murder.

Sinelia, in his turn, resolved upon vengeance, and after a couple of months he set out with fifty canoes to avenge the death of those of his people who had been killed, and also of his relatives of Sulu Vou. The fact of their having been killed on land belonging to him made it incumbent on him either to pay a fine to the Sulu Vou people or to avenge the deaths. The expedition landed at Gao, and made its way up the hills to Maana Gao village which they attacked, killing a hundred people. In addition they got back the shell-moneys and porpoise-teeth which the Gao men had taken from the houses at Basakana. The numbers said to be killed in these raids are only round numbers, and those who tell the tale generally put their own losses down as the smaller. In addition to raiding Maana Gao, Sinelia put out blood-money which was to be earned by any of the Lau people who were willing to avenge the death of the Sulu Vou people. The challenge was accepted by the Sulu Vou people themselves, and they also raided Gao. Gwaliasi told me that his grandfather went, but that his own father was not old enough at the time to be allowed to go. This, coupled with Irobaoa's statement to me that the raids occurred when his father was a young man, fixed the date as somewhere in the 'fifties of last century. Sinelia made three further raids on Gao in return for raids made by the Gao people on Mala, and a Gao man who was taken captive during the Sulu Vou raid died after living some years at Sulu Vou.

The second war was one undertaken against the people of Alite, Langalanga, and the only imported weapon said to be used was a cutlass owned by a Sulu Vou man. There is no record as to how it came into his possession, but it might have been acquired during the raids on Gao. The vessels which distributed the first tomahawks to the Roviana people in exchange for turtle-shell were probably responsible for the cutlass also. Some of these ships in the 'sixties came as far as Florida Island in their search for turtle-shell which they exchanged for human heads obtained at Roviana.

Some Funaa Vou visitors to Alite transgressed the rules of good behaviour, during the time of a dance, by making free with the wives and daughters of the chiefs of Alite. This was resented by the Alite men, and the Funaa Vou visitors were killed. When the news reached Funaa Vou, blood-money was put out for anybody to earn who would revenge the death of the Funaa Vou men. The challenge was accepted by the Sulu Vou people, who heard that a number of the Alite people had moved north to Coleridge Bay, for the gathering of canarium nuts during the month of August. An expedition was got up, and a fighting party made its way to Coleridge Bay. The Sulu Vou people took their adversaries at a disadvantage, attacking them in a place where high rocks barred any hope of their escaping. In round numbers a hundred of the Alite people were killed, and the Sulu Vou canoes returned to claim the blood-money. The putting out of blood-money on the part of any person or persons was tantamount to a confession of inability on their part to exact revenge by actual killing. It was the fashion on such war expeditions on Mala to capture women, and one Alite girl was taken on this occasion to Sulu Vou where she was married. The customary bride-price might be paid afterwards.

Foul words used to Sulu Vou women by To'oa Baita people at a market at Bita'ama were responsible for the third war. As rifles were used on this occasion, we may place the date of it during the 'eighties of last century. When the news of the insult offered to their women reached Sulu Vou it was decided to wait a while before exacting revenge, the idea being that it would be better to wait until all thought of reprisals had passed from the mind of the To'oa Baita people. Doubtless it was desired also to get a further stock of rifles, as the fighting character of To'oa Baita, as well as their possession of numerous rifles, was well known. Two years passed before any attempt was made to revenge the insult, and the patience of Sulu Vou must have been greatly tried during the interval by the parabolic saying used by the To'oa Baita people, and duly reported at Sulu Vou, " The lightning flashed, why did not the thunder follow ? " The meaning of which taunt is, " We killed your people and you have not avenged it ! "

When all thought of a raid from Sulu Vou was thought to be over, an expedition set out ostensibly to fish with nets at Basakana Island, opposite the north cape village where the To'oa Baita people were engaged in celebrating a big feast. The news of the feast had duly reached Sulu Vou, and the time was judged to be a suitable one for the exaction of revenge. The day of the feast was known, and the expedition made its arrangements accordingly. Relatives of the women who had been insulted filled the canoes, all were carrying rifles, but outwardly it looked like an expedition bent on fishing, and the suspicions of the hill men were not aroused. The party landed at Basakana, and on the feast day when the hill men had assembled, a canoe bearing the fishing-net was sent off to set the net opposite the village. Meanwhile the fighting parties had landed lower down, and had concealed themselves in the bush near the village. The fishers were to give the signal for the attack on the village by shouting and saying: "The net has enclosed a huge shoal of fish." The attack was to be made as soon as the fishers saw that the hill men were all engaged in the dance, and their rifles were stowed away in the houses round about. The signal was given, the attack was made, and all and sundry were shot; men, women, and children, indifferently.

The fourth war began about 1888 or 1890, and lasted for a considerable time, many other islands being drawn into it. The trouble started during a feast given at Funaa Vou when Sulu Vou men were present. During the dance which accompanied the feast, a Funaa Vou man was said to have practised malevolent magic against a Sulu Vou chief who was present at the dance. The method employed is to blow magic lime on to one of the twigs of dracæna which the dancers hold in their hands, and then to shake the twig with malicious intent at a person. Or when the men are gathered together in a company, the evil wisher may smack a person with his hand. In this case the Sulu Vou man fell ill on return home, and the people came to the conclusion that magic had been employed against him at Funaa Vou. The name of the offender was found out by divination, and Sulu Vou demanded his surrender, but was met with a refusal. Ordinarily the divination test was accepted as proof of a man's guilt, and no opposition was made to his surrender. Possibly the objection made in this case was that the chief had not died, or the possession of rifles may have changed the situation; and it is also probable that a certain amount of jealousy existed between the two peoples. The Sulu Vou and Ada Gege peoples were the favoured ones of the Labour trade, and many rifles and presents were given to them.

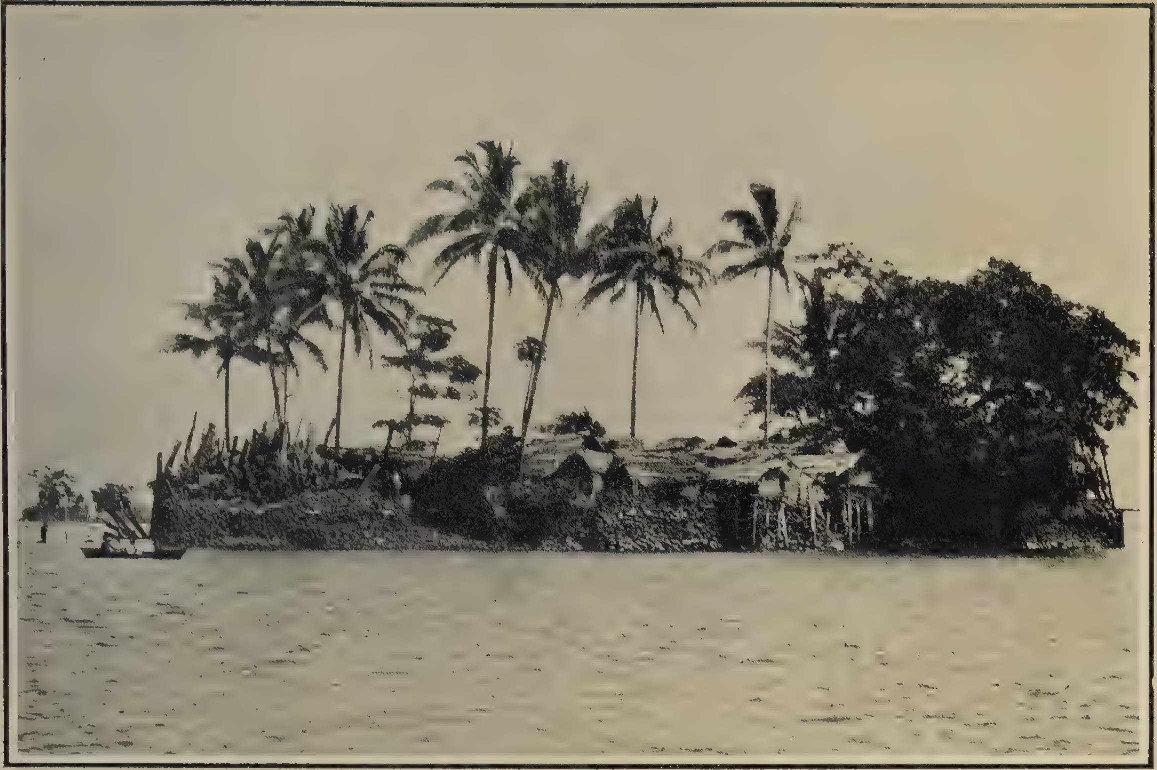
Funaa Vou prepared for an assault by building up a wall of stones round their island as a protection against rifle bullets. Canoes from Sulu Vou, Ada Gege, Fera Subua, Sure'ina, and from so far away a place as Port Adam, made a joint attack on Funaa Vou, Kwaisulia of Ada Gege being in charge of the assault. The Funaa Vou people were driven out and fled to Maana Oba village on Ngwalulu. The houses on Funaa Vou were set on fire, and the attacking party captured some girls, Kwaisulia taking one, and the Port Adam people taking another. This ended the first stage of the fight.

Some time later Kwaisulia's decorated canoe was smashed up at Gwou ulu, a village on the mainland opposite Ngwalulu

Island, by men from Maana oba who sided with the Funaa Vou people. Several of the crew were killed at the same time, one man refusing to flee and being killed at his seat in the canoe. Sulu Vou and Ada Gege, together with Port Adam men who were staying at Ataa, then attacked Maana oba but were driven off with loss, the enemy shooting them with rifles as they neared the shore. Lagua, the Port Adam chief, had endeavoured to dissuade Kwaisulia from attacking, saying that he felt the agalos did not favour an attack and would not empower it. Maana oba now took the offensive and gathered their forces to attack Ada Gege and Sulu Vou. Meanwhile Queensland ships had provided Kwaisulia with barbed wire and with dogs. The wire was stretched round the island, and the dogs were intended to give warning of any night attack. Sulu Vou and Fera Subua on their part began to erect fortifications of huge tree trunks which they cut and floated over from the mainland, and later on Ada Gege erected a fortification of logs also. There was feverish activity on the islands when these logs were being erected, every man put his back into the work and prodigies of labour were performed. The upending of these logs is no light work, and there was all the labour of towing them or swimming off with them to the island. Sure'ina also erected a fortification of logs to protect itself against an attack by hill people who were desirous of earning the blood-money which Funaa Vou had put out, owing to Sure'ina having fought also against Funaa Vou. Rifle bullets easily covered the few hundred yards between the shore and the artificial islands, but the logs were set up close together with no spaces left in between, and this gave a sense of security. At night-time the landing places were closed with logs also and a watch was kept till morning. The name given to these fortifications is *labu*, which means "to erect."

The enemy made their headquarters at Fou Ii'a on the mainland opposite Sulu Vou. A section of them was also encamped at the beach opposite Ada Gege. Much shooting was done by both parties, but no casualties occurred on either side as a result of the shooting. The Snider carbines used were perhaps not very serviceable weapons, but the Tower rifles were good enough except for the fact that their barrels had been filed off by the people in order to stow them more easily in canoes. No Mala man of my acquaintance ever took definite aim at an enemy, and the use of the sights was not understood. The Snider carbines were often fired from the hip without any attempt at taking aim; and when a person was killed it was only because the rifle barrel was thrust at his body and the trigger pulled. Even then misses were recorded. The favourite way followed in the hills, in an attack on a village, was to wait till the men were all in the beu with their rifles stacked away, and then either to attack the beu suddenly and shoot indiscriminately, or else to gain entrance on the pretext of a friendly visit, and then to shoot all inside. Once rifles were introduced on Mala every man carried one.

The enemy who were encamped on the shore at Fou Ii'a cut down all the coco-nuts planted there and all the areca palms. They did not dare venture themselves up on the hills behind to destroy the gardens of their enemies; there was too great a likelihood of meeting the hill men. The party encamped on the shore found an old woman there in a hut and promptly killed her. She was nursing a baby at the time, and her dead body protected the child, who was afterwards found and saved. Besides the woman there was only one other casualty, an Australian dog, one of those brought by the Labour vessels to give warning of any night attack on Ada Gege. The dog was braver than the people, for he gave battle on his own account, and leaping into the sea made to swim ashore but was shot and killed. The war seems to have ended with his death, and the enemy returned home bearing with them as the sole title of victory the name "Return with a dog." The fortifications were not demolished, and they gradually decayed till to-day all that is left of them at Sulu



FERA SUBUA ISLAND

THE REMAINS OF FORTIFICATIONS MAY BE SEEN ON THE LEFT. COCONUTS AND OTHER TREES GROW AMONG THE ROCKS COMPOSING THE ISLANDS. THE MEN'S CLUB HOUSES AND THE 'HOLY HOUSE' ARE ALL ON ONE SIDE OF THE ISLAND NEAR THE BIG TREES. TWO SMALL ISLANDS APPEAR ON THE LEFT.

Vou is a few logs which are used to dry the fishing-nets on.

In Renton's account mention is made of the existence of low stone walls erected round some of the islands, to serve as a protection in case of attack by the people of the other islands. He also states that at the time of his arrival at Sulu Vou there were the remains of a log fence round the island. This had been erected as a protection against a combined attack made by the people of the other islands. This war is an earlier one than the one with Funaa Vou which is described above. According to what was told Renton, the assailants tried once or twice to break through the weaker parts of the Sulu Vou defences, but were repulsed. Then they blockaded the island, taking up a position on the mainland. The people were cut off from their water supply, and were not able to attend markets; their fishing activities were restricted, and they were forced to eat up their pigs. Some men managed to slip through the blockade at night and brought back supplies of water. No casualties seem to have occurred, and Sulu Vou ended the siege by surrendering certain persons to the enemy to be killed. The probability is that Funaa Vou was the enemy in this case also.

Renton himself went with the war-canoes on two forays, one against the people of an island, the other against a place on the mainland, but on the west coast of Mala. His account of the first raid states that the canoes arrived off the island just before dawn. The men landed and rushed the village. The local canoes had previously been cut adrift, and the people were clubbed or speared or shot with arrows when they emerged from their houses. One man ran the gauntlet of a hundred blows aimed at him as he emerged from his hut, and rushed towards the sea. He plunged into the water and stood with his shoulders out clear, facing the enemy, and diverting with his bow the arrows which were shot, and the spears which were thrown at him. Twenty men dashed in after him, but none dared to attack him hand to hand. A man swam out unobserved and pierced him through the throat with a spear from behind as he stood facing the rest of the enemy. Those killed are said to have been beheaded and their skulls taken back to Sulu Vou. This attack may have been made on Maana oba village on Ngwalulu.

The second fight in which Renton participated may possibly have been the second of those described above. The details given do not agree with the account of this fight as told to me, but both are said to have taken place on the west coast of Mala, and, in Renton's case, the fight is said to have been with " a tribe who had their habitations on the mainland close to the beach." Outside of the Auke and Langalanga people there were no people living close to the beach on the west side of the island in those days, and it is not likely that Sulu Vou twice attacked any people from these places who had taken up temporary quarters at the nutting season. Renton states that the people fled before the attackers, who made the best of their disappointment by setting fire to the abandoned huts. They were interrupted in this work by arrows fired at them by one of the attacked party who stood at the edge of the bush and fired. This man was utterly careless of his own life, and continued to fire regardless of the fact that a party of Sulu Vou men had set out to surround him in the rear. He kept on firing, and was fitting another arrow to the string when the clubs crashed on his skull. The man's head was cut off and thrown on to the blazing roof of a hut.

Renton gives a description of a ceremony in connexion with the outbreak of war which has one or two features of which I had not heard. In additicn to the pig offered as a burnt sacrifice just before a war-party set out, the people of the place were accustomed to bring the still-born pigs out of a litter, and give them to the priest to be burnt. These pigs had been kept and had been preserved by placing them in the smoke. The priest received the pigs and went about his office " with many contortions and snorts." He gave vent to a " series of impressive gasps, keeping the mouth open and expelling the air forcibly from his lungs." Those who had thus made an offering to the ghosts believed themselves to be invulnerable in the forthcoming war, and would " rush without hesitation into the midst of a hundred foes."

The Mala man has a bravery quite his own. His style of fighting may not commend itself to us, but in both the fights which Renton witnessed, the enemy, at any rate, showed remarkable courage. The Spaniards, during their visit to Ulawa in 1568, remarked on the courage of an elderly man who withstood their gun-fire. There were at least two outstanding instances of courageous behaviour on the part of Lau men at the time of the murder of the Government party in 1927. When the noise of the firing and the shouts of the people on shore reached the ears of the native cook, a Fera subua man, who was left on the Government ship, he is reported to have cried out, " My people are being killed on shore, I am going to die with them." He jumped into the sea and swam ashore and was killed on the beach. Mr. Bell's orderly, an Ada Gege man, is reported to have snatched his rifle after his master was killed and to have fired at the murderers till his magazine was empty. He then fought his way down to the beach, intending to swim off to the ship, but he had the misfortune to be headed off into the thick trees and there was killed.

A protective measure is taken in the case of war with the hill people. This consists in closing the paths at some distance from the sea by setting up pieces of dracæna and croton on them. The enemy seeing these marks will retire, knowing that they have been dedicated by the use of an incantation, and that the power of the ghosts associated with them will nullify their efforts.

A war may be prevented, or ended, if a relative of the attacking party who is living with the people about to be attacked, appears on the scene and forbids a fight. The attackers will then withdraw. This is said to have happened in the case of the Sulu Vou war with Maana oba and Funaa Vou, and to have been the reason for the cessation of hostilities. When peace is restored between belligerents, the custom is for each party to give an equal amount of money to the other without respect to the question of the amount of guilt involved.

When a party was setting out for a fight it was customary for the men to run up to the person called *Manu* (*see* p. 237) and to slap him on the head or on the shoulder, saying, "Grant me a victim." Relics were not taken to a fight, and the priests did not accompany the chiefs to fight. The priests' part consisted in offering a pig on the night preceding the departure of the fighters, and in taking an omen from its snout. Those who went to fight did not put on any "war-paint," but postponed all bodily decoration till after a victim had been killed. The smear that denoted a homicide was made from the mouth upwards to the forehead with saliva from the betel-mixture, and was known as "pig's tongue." Sprigs of lycopodium fern were stuck in the hair at the same time, and war belts of rattan cane decorated with red and yellow plaiting were also worn. The fern sprigs were stuck round the beu eventually, and the shields were put away in the smoke of the fire. After a chief's death his weapons passed to his son, but they were used again in fighting and were classed as relics. When fighters were facing one another there was much loud shouting and slapping of thighs by way of challenge or derision. Heels were dug into the ground, and spears were brandished, as men cursed their opponents, and consigned them to destruction by the war ghosts.

Certain things were considered as crimes against society and were punishable with death. Among these were the practice of malevolent magic, adultery, or incest, forcible entry into a man's house for a criminal purpose, the theft of money-bags, the abduction of women, cursing a chief's net or his person. No revenge was exacted for anyone who was killed on any of these charges. Unprovoked homicide was considered as a crime and revenge was taken. Fighting-men who had contracted ceremonial defilement purged themselves by a homicide. The causes of such defilement were (1) the curse called *kwalalaa* or *kwaiagia*, dirting on a man's head; (2) cursing one's father's grave, or Sina Kwao's bow, or a priest; (3) a woman treading on holy ground; (4) contact with a woman during her thirty days' confinement after childbirth; (5) the taking of a man's lime-box or bamboo water-carrier to any place likely to cause it to become defiled; (6) a man's pig passing under a woman's legs. Cursing by the bisi, or by the places of retirement, did not involve a homicide. After a homicide the killer on his return might eat what pigs he possessed, sharing the food with others, as a sign that his anger was appeased. Strangers who were living in a place, and who were not under the protection of a chief, might be chosen as victims by one who was desirous of purging himself from some ceremonial defilement. Anyone who thus killed another in order to purge himself would have a price put on his head by the relatives of the man he had killed, and the desire to earn the blood-money might lead to his betrayal by his own people. In this way an ever-increasing number of homicides would occur.

A man who was accused of causing the death of a chief by black magic, and who was given up to punishment, was killed at sea. He was taken away in a canoe by his accusers, and when they were some distance away from his home they ordered him to get out and bathe. He was thereupon killed with clubs and spears, and his body was taken ashore and buried. It was considered unlucky to kill him while he was in the canoe.

Fighting-parties urged on by the lust of killing, young men for the most part, treating the matter as a joke, deliberately set out in search of victims. A proverbial saying used by the members of such parties was to this effect: "Whoever does not want to eat pork can eat man; whoever does not want to eat man can eat pork." A certain amount of restraint was exercised in the matter of killing any relatives whom the party might happen to meet, and in consequence they were said to have put a tabu on their eyes. But the lust of killing was not to be denied, and the danger of a man's killing a relative was overcome by taking care that the members of such a fighting party were mixed as to their relationship. If a kinsman of any member of the band were encountered there was sure to be some member of the party who was not related to him, and who could kill him without danger of *fualangaa*. Sulu Vou is said to have acted thus on one occasion, but the practice is rather a Tolo one.

The introduction of firearms gave a great impetus to murders by members of such fighting parties, and Gwaliasi told me how he and other Sulu Vou men went to a village of Fata Leka in order to steal a huge pig which was there. Anyone who offered resistance would be killed. The Lau men deliberately robbed the Tolo men on their return from Queensland or Fiji when they were landed on the beach, taking their boxes and whatever else they had brought back with them. No hill man returning thus was safe unless an armed party came down from his home to protect him and his belongings. A Sulu Vou chief told me that he had led a fighting party to a house in the hills where there was a man who had just returned from abroad. The house was stormed, and several cases of twist tobacco were forcibly removed.

The practice of putting out blood-money was common to the whole of North Mala. In Lau, "blood-money" is known as *fooa*. The amount of the blood-money might be from twenty to thirty shell-moneys, along with a number of pigs. The usual reason for putting out blood-money was to bring about the death of some person who lived at a distance, or who bore too great a reputation as a fighter to be tackled lightly, or else it was to avenge an insult on the part of those who were too strong for those they had insulted. When the blood-money had been earned by the death of the person or persons wanted, those who provided it erected a stage in their village and prepared to receive the killers. The stage was built on piles, and was a flimsy erection swaying to and fro as the killer mounted it in order to receive the blood-money. The pigs which formed part of the blood-money might not be cooked by those who provided them. If the killers lived near, they killed and cut up the pigs and partly roasted the flesh before returning ; if their home was far off, they took the pigs away alive and ate them at home.

Throughout the whole of Mala the name given to a fighting-man—a champion, is *ramo*. These men might be either chiefs or commoners who had acquired a reputation for personal prowess. In the old days, before the coming of white men, the fighting-men were not usually of chiefly rank, but the introduction of firearms produced several men in North Mala who, being chiefs, earned for themselves the reputation of fighting-men by indiscriminate homicide. When white men first began to visit Mala it was the ramo who forced himself upon their notice, and who by his forwardness and his truculent behaviour was considered by them to be the chief of the place. Kwaisulia of Ada Gege was of this type of ramo, and in the inquiry at Brisbane into the forcible abduction of Tolo men as recruits for the ship *William Manson*, which Kwaisulia took part in, he was constantly spoken of as "the Chief of Urasi." It was his overbearing style and his hectoring ways, as much as his leading of the Sulu Vou forces against Funaa Vou, that caused the Maana oba people to break up his baru kwaoa and kill some of the crew. When the Christians from Sulu Vou settled at Fou Ii'a, he utterly forbade their action, though they were on their own ground, and had the sanction of their own chiefs. He employed Tolo men to set a light to their school-house at night, but the malefactors fled in terror when the building refused to burn. It was only due to his reputation amongst white people, which he traded on, that he was not killed for his overbearing ways and his unjustifiable assumption of authority.

In recent years there have been a number of Tolo men on the east coast of North Mala who acquired a reputation for themselves as ramo. Some of these were given nicknames which bore reference to their habits and to their activities. This would appear to be an old practice judging from the names of Lau keni (Snatch Women), the maker of the 'alavolo club, and Lau ila (Snatch Axes). One such ramo was nicknamed Lae inao (First on the Spot), his real name being Keso. He belonged to the hills above Ataa, but was often to be found at Fuaga. He had a penchant for killing men in order to get their rifles, and he showed me a Martini-Henry which he carried, and whose owner he had killed. These ramo killed at times in order to earn blood-money, and they would travel for days, and undergo considerable hardship, in order to effect their object. Perhaps the most famous ramo in North Mala is a Bae Guu man called Iro Kwato and nicknamed Lau kwanga (Snatch guns), who belongs to the village of Agia. His father was killed and eaten before his birth by the 'Ai Seni people, and this fact was constantly kept before his mind by his father's people as he grew up. Thus if he hit a boy, the father said, " You go and kill 'Ai Seni ; they killed your father." When he came to his full growth he started to kill 'Ai Seni men, both for revenge and also to get their rifles. His method of fighting was to lie in wait for his man and shoot him from cover. The sound of the shot reverberated through the hills, and all who heard it seized their guns and rushed down the paths, but by the time they had reached the victim Iro Kwato was nowhere to be found. In this way he is said to have killed forty 'Ai Seni men. He escaped being killed himself, and he was alive in 1927. An 'Ai Seni man nicknamed Suu i nao (First to avenge), had killed a great number of men, and he and Iro Kwato lodged a number of shell-moneys with the Government as security against further homicides on their part. A Bae Guu ramo named Fuli namo, was associated with those who planned the abduction of recruits for the *William Manson*. A message was sent to him from the shore people that men were wanted, and that he was to share in the purchase money. His reputation for killing was well known among his people, and he obtained recruits for the ship by saying to this man and that, "I can't stand your face; get out of this or I will kill you." The names of three other ramo of modern times are Lau vanua, Oi mae, Erei bakwa, all of whom were Tolo men.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

Burials: Death-Feasts: Panpipes

THE word used in Lau for "bury" is *alu*, which means "to place." Burials may either be actual interments, or the bodies may be placed in canoes or set up on forks. There is no exposure of bodies in the open air, no burial at sea, and cremation is unknown. No one was killed as a victim after the death of a chief, except in those cases where the death was thought to have been caused by witchcraft. Nor was it a Lau practice for the wives of chiefs to strangle themselves after the deaths of their husbands. The cerements used are the kauve, *i.e.* the leaves of pandanus, which serve so many purposes, the leaves of the sago-palm, and the stout bark of the talo tree. When burials take place in the ground, the legs are doubled up and tied, the head and shoulders are left above ground, the body being placed in a sitting posture. No one method of burial is followed in the case of chiefs. No ceremonial uncleanness is contracted by handling the dead, and burials are treated as quite ordinary matters.

There is no revulsion of feeling against handling a dead body, and men sleep and work in the beu where a corpse has been buried, and where the skulls of the dead are kept after exhumation. A bedside may have a skull hanging over it. Strangers and men who are not *too futa* are buried on shore, also people whose relatives are of Tolo extraction, and all who die of leprosy or dysentery. The island Fou bebe was used in the past by the Sulu Vou people as a burial place for strangers as well as for children. Sulu Vou children are buried nowadays on the mainland.

Priests are buried in the beu aabu, the burial taking place in the rear portion near to the altar. A shelter made of sago-palm leaves is erected over the body of the priest. The priest's body is wrapped in talo bark and several kauves, and the whole is then covered up completely with a thick covering of sago-palm leaves. After six months the body is exhumed, the head is put in the late priest's beu, and the bones are placed in the bae. In every interment on the artificial islands the rocks which form the ground are first removed, sand is put into the hole so made, and the body is laid in this sand.

Chiefs' bodies may be buried in two ways: by actual interment, or by being placed in canoes or set up on forks; the burial always taking place in the beus belonging to them. The body is first wrapped up in two sections of talo bark, which are then tied tightly, the legs being doubled underneath, so as to economise space. Kauves and sago-palm leaves are then put on as extra wrappings. All the three cerements used are of strong texture, and it is owing to this fact that the bodies may be kept in the beus without harm to the living. The ancient practice was to leave the head and shoulders of the corpse above ground, but nowadays the body is laid flat and a covering of tabaa wood is placed over it. If it is desired, a chief's body may be placed in a canoe in the beu, the wrappings being as usual, the scrapings of the inner bark of the casuarina being added, or the body may be laid on forks set in the ground. Boards are placed over the canoes used for this purpose, and the whole is cemented with the putty nut; a bamboo set under the canoe or under the body takes off the fluid. Exhumation takes place after six months, and the usual disposition is made of skull and bones. The body of the eldest son of a chief who dies in early youth is wrapped up in kauves and sago-palm leaves, the whole being made to resemble a fish; offerings of shell-money and porpoise-teeth are laid inside the wrappings, and the body is then put in a canoe in the house of the lad's mother, or is laid upon forks.

Men who are not of chiefly rank, and all women, are interred in their own private houses, and exhumation takes place in the usual way after six months. No relics, except the skulls of women, are kept in the private houses.

Skulls kept in the beus pending removal to Ngwalo are generally marked in some way, a trinket being tied on to them in order to facilitate recognition. The skulls are either kept loose on a shelf in the beu, or they may be enclosed in bamboo baskets, or tied up in sago-palm leaves, or they may be put into models of fish made out of tabaa wood.

When a chief dies, his body is kept for two days before burial takes place, but the bodies of ordinary people are buried the day after death. Relatives gather from all parts during a case of sickness in order to show their sympathy, and their stay may be prolonged for several days. After a chief's death his canoes are broken up, his ornaments are smashed, his fishing-net is destroyed, his yams pulled up and eaten, his taro garden destroyed, his pigs eaten. There is no religious reason for this waste, and the only motive said to be behind it is the preventing of others from using the things, or from eating the food belonging to the dead man. It is not a manifestation of sorrow, but rather belongs to the practice of forestalling the rejoicings of an enemy over a chief's death. These rejoicings are called in Lau *ofolaa*, or *noni diena*.

On the death of a chief, a man in another place may put on all his ornaments as a token of his joy at the other man's death. Such action is a potential cause of war, and leads to an accusation of black magic being preferred against the person so rejoicing. In order to forestall any chance of others rejoicing over a chief's death, the local people dress up in all their finery and give vent to loud shouting and yells, the gongs are beaten, and trees are chopped down. Whatever may have been the origin of all these practices in the past, the dressing-up and "carrying-on," and the destruction of property, seem nowadays to be intended as a sign to others that the death of a chief is the sole concern of his people, and that others are not to meddle with it.

When a chief dies, after the local manifestation called *ofolaa* has taken place, no one is allowed to shout or to utter a cry for the space of five days. The cries of children are hushed, and no dog is allowed to bark. The people may bathe and water may be fetched from the mainland, but not firewood, and the cooking is severely limited ; no smoke of fires must be seen. Taros may be fetched from the gardens for food, but it is the usual practice for the people of the other islands to bring food for sale at these times. This state of things continues for five days, including the day of death, and a fine is demanded for any breach of the rules. That Lau has separate names for four days after " to-day," seems to show that the naming of this period is due to the observation of the days of restriction after a chief's death.

The place of burial, whether in a private house or beu, or in a bae on the mainland, is known as *kwaineia*. To curse a man's kwaineia, the burial-place of his people, made him become ceremonially defiled, and compelled him to kill someone in order to be purged. The Tolo people bury in the bae proper, the interments being made round the altar, and there is no subsequent exhumation. A certain Tolo village followed the Sulu Vou practice of exhumation and of putting the skulls in an enclosure of stones, but one big skull " wrestled " with those who wished to put it into the enclosure ; it refused to go in, and obstinately remained on the outside. This behaviour was interpreted to mean that the ghosts were averse to this change in practice, and that it must cease.

When a man dies away from home, either it might be in another village or in territory belonging to someone else, the chief of the place where he dies, or the owner of the particular territory, pays a fine to the relatives of the dead. This custom is known as *firilaa* (binding), the idea denoted by the word being that the man's death has involved others, who have to free themselves by a monetary payment. Doubtless such payments have more or less of a reference to a latent suspicion of the man's death being due to witchcraft on the part of the people where he died. The custom is a general one on Mala, and such fines are demanded and paid in cases where no actual witchcraft can have occurred. When Kwaisulia of Ada Gege blew himself up with dynamite on Basakana Island, where he had gone to fish, his sons demanded a firilaa from Irobaoa of Suu. No one was present on the occasion except the Ada Gege people, who had accompanied Kwaisulia, and no charge of witchcraft was preferred against the Suu people. The only reason for demanding the firilaa was that Kwaisulia met his death while he was on Irabaoa's island. The demand was in accordance with Mala practice, and the fine was duly paid.

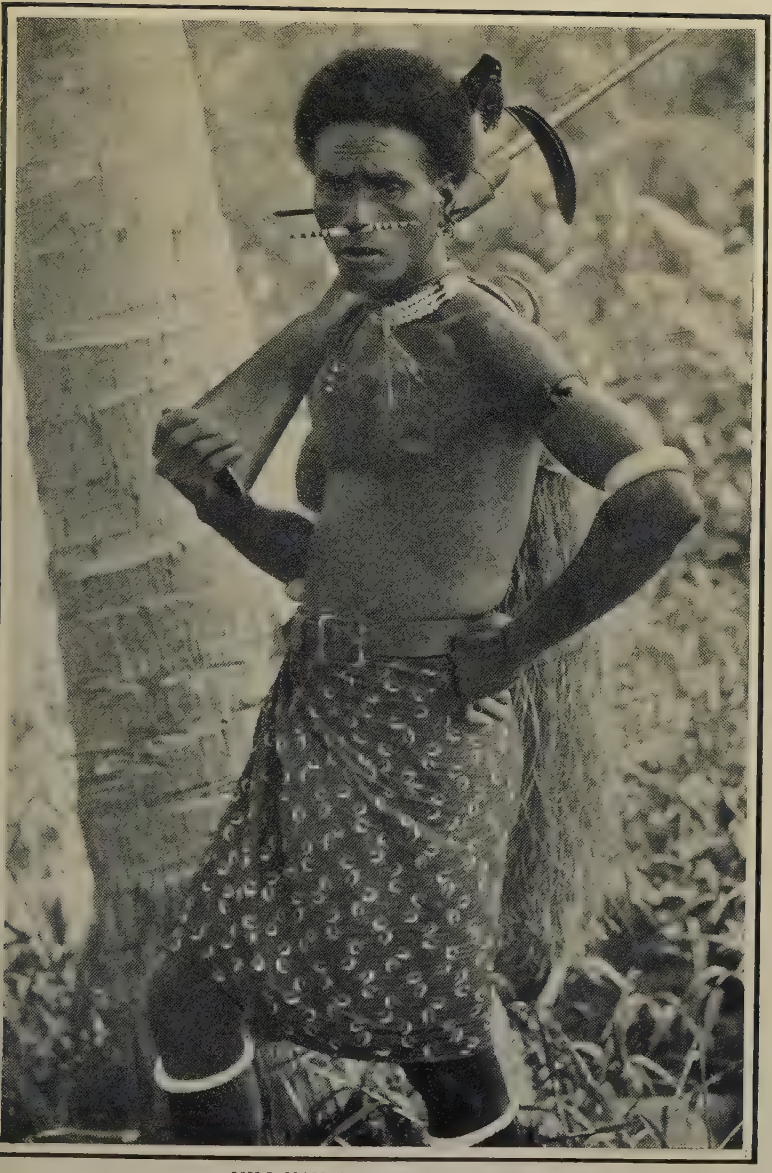
In Lau the origin of death is said to have been brought about by the following incident. A certain woman said to her two children : " If you see your grandmother coming out from a banana, do not be afraid. She will be all white and clean, but you need not fear." Thereupon she left the children and went her way. By and by the two children saw their grandmother coming out all fresh and renewed from the banana, and they were afraid and began to cry, thinking that she was someone else and not their grandmother. When the mother returned she said to the children : " Why did you cry ? That was your grandmother you saw. You two will now die, and all your children will die. If you had not cried you would have changed your skins like snakes, or like the robber crab, and become new. Now you will die."

On Malapa Island, in Marau Sound, Guadalcanal, I was shown the site of the house belonging to the female ghost called Hu'a tetere mauri (Lady Fan-alive), and the stone where she died was pointed out to me. I knew her name well from folk-lore stories in Sa'a as one who lived in heaven, and now I had come to her place of abode, the home of the Sa'a and Ulawa dead, and found that it was the heaven of the stories. My informant, a resident of a village on Malapa, proceeded to tell me how Lady Fan-alive had met her death. She was killed by Rapu'anate, the hero of Olu Malau, Three Sisters Islands, which lie between Ulawa and Uki. He came to Malapa to fight the people there and killed Lady Fan-alive and thus brought about death. This was a new variant to me of the origin of death, but it fits in well enough with the power of resurrecting mortals ascribed to Hu'a tetere mauri. The story of Lady Fan-alive as told to me, may, perhaps, point to an idea that a new life was given on Malapa by a woman to the souls of men arriving there, and that when she was killed this state of affairs came to an end.

Each section of a Lau village has a wooden gong which belongs to the chief of the section. The gongs are small in size and are made in Tolo and sold to the Lau chiefs. Their sound is dull and is lacking in resonance owing to the opening being very wide, and also to the fact that the tongue, which projects inwards from the upper lip, is cut off much shorter than is the case with the gongs on Little Mala. The gongs are set up on wooden forks, and are struck hard with a length of creeper, and the resultant noise can only be described as a "row." There is no playing of gongs in concert, and the only use of them is to make a noise which serves as a summons or a notice. Gongs are beaten to announce a forthcoming feast; they serve as a summons when the attendance of the men is required in any emergency; they announce the death of a chief, the return of the warriors after a successful fight, or the loss of property by theft.

All the bones of a body after exhumation are put into the bae by the priest, who merely puts them down on the ground without any further burial. There is generally a big barringtonia tree growing in the bae, as well as red dracænas, crotons, coleuses, evodias with very narrow leaves, and two shrubs called haolo and 'ai ni ii'a, all of which are planted of set purpose. The inner wall of the bae encloses the beu aabu as well, so that the two form one sacred place. The bae has no altar or fireplace, and no sacrifices are made in it. Old fishing-nets, old baru kwaoa, the refuse of areca nut skins collected from the beus, the husks and shells of the coco-nuts placed as offerings in the beu aabu, all these are put eventually into the bae. At Sulu Vou some bodies of children, enclosed in the brass-bound boxes of the Labour trade, were placed in the bae under the barringtonia. When the priest enters the bae in order to deposit anything, he first of all takes the sacred bag which contains offerings of shell-money or porpoise-teeth and the plate of cone-shell used in divination, then knotting the long strings which form the handle, he throws them over his head, thus letting the bag hang on his back. He then enters the bae in a crouching position, addressing the ghosts the while, and craving their favour. He alone is allowed to speak while in the bae, and any others who may be carrying something which is to be deposited there maintain a strict silence.

The word *bae* used in this connotation in Lau is doubtless the same as *bae* (to speak), the name being derived from the fact of the priest's addressing the ghosts while intruding on their territory. The Tolo people bury round the altars, and a bae in Tolo is both altar and burial-place. The separation of the two in Lau may be due to exigencies of space. Periodically the skulls of the dead, which are stored temporarily in the beus at Sulu Vou, are carried in canoes to Ngwalo (*see* p. 139), on Ngwalulu Island, the original home of Leo. At times as much as two or three canoe-loads of skulls are taken to Ngwalo, where they are put in an enclosure made by coral rocks. This practice serves as a proof of the theory that the ghost-home of any people is really the place from which their ancestors came, and to which the dead were taken back. The ghost-home of Sulu Vou is an island off the coast of Bugotu, but Leo, the



HILL MAN STANDING SENTRY

IN THE DAYS BEFORE THE PACIFICATION OF MALA EVERY MAN POSSESSED A CARBINE, AND THE CHRISTIANS PLACED SENTRIES IN THE VILLAGES FOR THEIR OWN PROTECTION.

immediate ancestor of the Sulu Vou people, came from Ngwalo, and in taking the skulls of the dead there the people were but following ancient practice.

There is no record of the taking of bodies or skulls by the Lau people to Momolu, but the use of the phrase *tala oto* (straight track) by the people of Marau Sound to denote the ghost track which leads up to the top of Malapa from the rock at the landing-place for ghosts, and the presence of Lady Fan-alive, close to the track, together with the story of her fanning people back to life, suggest that in the far past it was the custom to take the actual dead to Malapa.

Funaa Vou has an enclosure for the skulls of its dead at Asi ni ngwane, in Ataa Cove, and skulls are taken there periodically. All big feasts, both at Sulu Vou and Funaa Vou, are held in duplicate, one at home, the other at the sacred enclosure. The Ngwalo feast coincides with the taking of the Sulu Vou skulls and conditions the time of their removal. Pigs have to be fattened, food grown or bought, beus built at Ngwalo for the men, and lumas for the women who are to take part in the feast and in the preparations for it.

Summonses are sent out to other villages both in the lagoon and on the hills, nets are taken to catch fish for the feast, the pigs being reserved for eating at the companion feast held at home. Dances are held at Ngwalo during the feast and the panpipes are played. In the ceremonies connected with the depositing of the skulls, and in the religious observances during the feast, a man of the Lao Afa people in Suu acts as priest, and not the regular Sulu Vou priest. The reason given for this is the connexion of this man by descent with Sulu Vou; probably it is due to close relationship between his ancestors and the founders of Ngwalo.

All feasts in Lau are connected with the newly dead. The only exception is the feast held after the completion of a new beu aabu. Those death-feasts which include the killing and eating of pigs are accompanied by music and dancing, and these are known as *maoma* (dancing).

The death-feasts for a chief are called *maoma i maelana* (the feast of his death), or *maelana a aarai* (the chief's death), and are held in three parts in order to give ample time for the preparation of the necessary food. The celebrations run over a considerable time, and three or four years may elapse between the first and third owing to delay in the provision of pigs and taros. The time of the first is indicated by the agalo of the dead chief himself, which possesses a man of the place and says, "Why are you not making my feast?" On receipt of this intimation of the will of the agalo, pigs are acquired for fattening and taro and yam gardens are made.

In addition to the maoma feasts there are three other feasts which are held following upon the death of a chief. These are called *ukauka*, and consist of the distribution of raw food only. The first is held on the fourth day after the death, the day on which the restrictions cease. The second coincides with the exhumation of the body after six months, and the wrapping up of the skull in kauves and the storing of it in the beu. These two ukauka are for the local people only, and no summons is sent to other villages. The third ukauka is on a somewhat bigger scale; live pigs are distributed with the raw food and outsiders are summoned, but there is no dancing. Fish may be caught for distribution also. At all the distributions of food the chiefs are given the largest portions. The maoma proper is not held till the third ukauka is over.

A new fashion has sprung up in connexion with the third ukauka. Now that the Lau men go in numbers to work the steamers at Tulagi, it has become the custom for them to spend their earnings in the purchase of bags of rice, cases of twist tobacco, and tins of meat. These have been used for distribution at the third ukauka. In 1927 the people of Funaa Vou were preparing for an ukauka which was to be on a large scale. Their men went to work at Tulagi, the Langalanga people joined with them, and the two parties bought and carried to Mala eighty bags of rice, eighty whole and half-cases of tobacco, and many tins of meat. Previous to the giving out of the food the Funaa Vou people caught fish and distributed them raw at the various islands, whose inhabitants were summoned to the feast. In addition to the rice and tobacco and meat there were said to be twenty thousand yams, besides taros, provided. The distribution of fish was in lieu of pigs, and the lavish provision of food was due to a desire to make a return for gifts received at ukauka held elsewhere in the lagoon, and was also prompted by the wish to show their neighbours what they could do. The term *kwaifanei* (to vie with one another), is well known in Lau.

The three divisions of the maoma are called : (1) *ere boso* (altar of pigs) ; (2) *äu 'a'ama* (decorated panpipes) ; (3) *äu kao* (pipes and bamboos) or *äu hango* (pipes and dracæna). Previous to a maoma the immediate relatives of the man in charge of the feast abstain from eating coco-nuts. This restriction comes to an end, so far as the male relatives are concerned, after a ceremony called *toli agaloa* (give the ghosts their portion), which is held some ten days before the actual feast. The women have to wait until after the end of the feast. The toli agaloa takes place at dawn in the presence of the priests of all the islands concerned, *i.e.* of those islands whose chiefs claim relationship with the chief whose maoma is being celebrated. The ceremony consists in making a monetary offering to the ghosts, and in giving a few taros and a coco-nut or two to the priests, and in a general distribution of raw food.

Gongs are beaten every day from now on to announce the maoma, and the sound of them goes rolling up into the hills. The people of the Morodo ridge said to me that they could hear plainly the beating of the gong at Fou Ii'a which preceded the daily church services. The date of a maoma is indicated by the number of single beats on the gongs which follow a continuous roll, the number being decreased by one each day. Death-feasts among the Lau people are attended by those Tolo people who are related to the gule bara that gives the feast, and formal summonses are sent to them announcing the day of the feast, and stating those in any given place who are invited. The gongs also are a guide to the hill people as to the day on which they are to bring down the taro which they have grown for the feast, and for which they are to be paid. With the added incentive of eating pork it is no wonder that, according to the Lau account, the enumeration of the beats is eagerly followed in Tolo!

From twenty to thirty pigs are killed at each of the three maomas, and the flesh is eaten by the men alone. The pigs are tended and fed by men all the time they are being fattened for the feast, and women must not see them or come near them. They are killed at daylight in the men's quarters, and the flesh is cooked in the various beus by the men, and distribution is made in the evening to the chiefs assembled. The priest prays over the cooked flesh, offering it to the ghosts and asking for their favour. The dead whose skulls are still in the beus are considered to share in the feast, the savour of cooked pork going to their nostrils. The priest receives the head of the first pig killed, in addition to his share of the cooked flesh. Once the chiefs have received their share the rank and file grab what they can, each man looking after himself. The younger boys share in the feast, but small children are not allowed to eat pork for fear of upsetting their stomachs.

The firewood for cooking and the leaves for wrapping the food have to be fetched from the mainland, and the whole community shares in this work, women as well as men. Special food is grown in preparation for a feast, and taros may also be bought for the purpose from the hill people. The special maoma gardens are on a large scale, and there are many restrictions connected with them. Taros and yams for a maoma are first roasted on the hot embers, then scraped with a black-lip pearl shell, then pounded in mortars along with coco-nut cream, and finally wrapped in leaves and heated in the oven. The pounding is done in big wooden mortars or in long narrow troughs. A special bowl is kept for use at feasts. It is stowed away when not in use, for it is sacred and must not be used as a seat. Nor must anyone step over it. If it is desecrated in this way it is rendered useless by having a hole chopped in it. Coco-nuts are scarce in the Lau districts, and the island of Ngwalulu furnishes most of the coco-nuts used at a feast; but the vegetable puddings have very little leavening of coco-nut cream in them and are heavy eating. As a concluding ceremony ten or twenty puddings are made, and are formally wrapped up and then fastened by thrusting the stalk of the covering leaves under the midrib half-way up the leaf. This ceremony is called "fastening the puddings," and it is regarded as a *faamola*, a making things common again after the eating of pork which had been offered to the ghosts. The priest says prayers over these puddings and receives one of them for himself; the rest of them are snatched up by the men. The priest also places, at the same time, an offering of a porpoise-tooth or an areca nut into the reliquary containing the skull of the chief whose death-feast is being celebrated. The women of the gule bara, which is responsible for the feast, may eat of these puddings, thus ending the restriction imposed on them of not eating coco-nuts.

When all the ceremonies of the feast are finished, the priest and his assistants formally bathe in the sea at daylight, striking their bodies with pieces of dracæna and uttering incantations. A few days later on a small feast is held, called "the women's feast," when two pigs are killed and the flesh given to the women to eat. The eating of the pigs killed at the main feast is strictly reserved to the men of the place.

During the preparation for the feasts, from the time of the provision of pigs and the planting of the food right up to the concluding ceremonies, all the people of the island are under restriction not to conduct any marriage ceremony, nor must any war be carried on. During the actual course of the feast people are free to come and go, visitors may arrive, and the nets may be taken out for fishing. When guests arrive from the hills for the feast they have to be careful where they sit, as certain of the beus are strictly reserved, and a Tolo man who happened to seat himself in front of one of these ran the risk of being killed on the charge of having defiled the beu by his presence. This also applies to those local people who are classed as *fakamola* (uninitiated and unlearned).

At the conclusion of any particularly important feast, *e.g.* the feast held at Sulu Vou after the skulls of the dead have been taken to Ngwalo, the daughter of the priest and the daughter of the chief who is superintending the feast have their hair dyed blue. The dye is obtained from the juice of a plantain called *hahamo* ; the process of dyeing the hair is called *rafu* (smear), and their heads are spoken of as *gwau ni eda* (heads dyed blue). The two girls stay indoors till nearly the end of the feast, and are not allowed to be seen. Towards the end of the ceremonies they make a small taro pudding and carry it to the priest, who thereupon rubs their lips with it ; they are then free to walk about and be admired. No reason is assigned for dyeing the hair thus, except that it is a personal adornment.

Panpipes are played at all of the three divisions of the maoma, but at the first feast they are played alone and are not accompanied by any dancing. The panpipes are of Tolo origin, and are said to have been made originally by the Gosile, the children of women dying *enceinte*. The Gosile live after their mothers are buried, and they are to be found in the hills. They are of short stature, and have long hair and nails like claws. They live in holes in the deep forest and wander about looking for food which they eat raw, being ignorant of how to make fire. They are also said to be cannibals. One of them was caught and his pipes taken from him by human beings and copied. The Lau people say that Gosile are to be found also on Guadalcanal, and I heard a story of one Gosile there who was caught in a net set over the grave of a woman who had died *enceinte*. The boy lived and grew up and became a normal person, and my informant averred that he had actually seen him.

The Lau pipes are played by a company of men numbering twenty or more, and the sets of pipes are of different lengths and with a varying number of pipes. Some sets have very long pipes, and the notes made by them are deep and resonant, but it takes a man with very good lungs to blow them and they are not often used. Sulu Vou pipers are very proud of their playing, and chiefs on the hills who are giving feasts send for Sulu Vou men to come and play the pipes. Fees are paid to the pipers, and the leader might receive a going-away present ; even a wife is given him if he asks for one.

The pipers stand in two ranks facing one another, the centre pair are the leaders, and it is they who give the signals for beginning and ending, and for any change of position or of tune. On the right ankle they wear rattles made of a strong seed, and these are rattled with regular stamping of the foot when the players are stationary, and at every other movement of the right foot when they are on the move. Much energy is put into the playing, and the best players bend down over their pipes and blow and stamp with surprising energy, turning and twisting from side to side.

At the second and the third of the three maoma feasts the pipers are accompanied by a number of dancers. They are said to *ngwae*, *i.e.* to clap the hands. The number of the dancers is conditioned by the size of the dancing-ground, but Gwaliasi told me that at some dances at Sulu Vou as many as a hundred men had taken part. The dancers also wear falake seeds on their right ankles, and they begin the actual proceedings by stamping with the right foot. This stamping is maintained regularly throughout, and its pace is increased at the end of any movement of the dance by digging the heel rapidly into the ground. In their left hands the dancers carry sprigs of dracæna which are held aloft ; and in their right hands they hold flat pieces of wood some eight inches long. At the second and third maoma these are carved with special designs and are limed, while at the third the dracæna shoots are set in carved sticks which are carried in the left hand.

The dancers stand in pairs in two lines, and each man speaks of his fellow as his *faa* (companion). All the company, players and dancers, stick green leaves (the strong-smelling yellow-leaved evodia for preference), or the tops of shrubs in the backs of their belts, and sprigs of lycopodium fern in their hair. The dance starts with the two parties standing separate and at a little distance from one another. Then the dancers gradually advance, taking short steps and stamping with the right foot till they draw clear of the pipers. The two leaders carry rattles made of small seeds strung on sticks and held in the right hand, and they keep up a continuous rattle with these. The best dancers assume a half-crouching posture. In the second position, the pipers advance in pairs and then stand in fours, playing the while, and the dancers move in a circle round them. Then the pipers return to their original position in a double row, the dancers meanwhile moving round them in an encircling movement, the two ranks moving in opposite directions. The change of place by the pipers is called " climbing." In the final stage the dancers stand in a ring round the two rows of pipers. Three of the figures played are known as Sea Snake, Thornless Cane, Good-bye. The last is a modern dance and the flat sticks are waved like white people wave their hands when saying good-bye. In all the figures there is an acting with the hands of the things represented. During the course of the dance men run round outside the groups of performers, holding green branches in their hands and shouting. This is known as *lalae* (oration), and the runners shout out exhortations to keep the peace, or they extol the prowess of the performers.

When the Langalanga people play the pipes they bring out the skulls of the dead from the beus, and, inserting evodia into the nostrils, they place the skulls in a circle round the performers, saying: "You will now watch the dance." This is done with a view to pleasing the dead, letting them share with the living in the joys of the dance.

CHAPTER TWELVE

Magic: Divination: Omens: Signs: Dreams

THE word used in Lau for malevolent magic is *'arua*; an incantation is called *mae agalo*; to use incantations on an object is simply *agalo.* The moving cause for the practice of black magic in Lau is said to be malice and envy; those who have not are jealous of those who have, and seek means to show their spite and to work harm to the more fortunate. Envious feelings are attributed largely to women amongst the Lau people, and there are said to be women in every Lau community with a reputation for blasting and spoiling by means of magic. These women know no fear, and are not restrained by any respect or reverence for the things which their fellows hold sacred and tabu. The restrictions of their religion are said to be as nothing to them, and they are credited with throwing contaminating objects into the men's beus, or even into the beu aabu, invading the sanctuary itself, in order to cause ceremonial defilement and a consequent failure in any enterprise which the men may be undertaking. In old days the men would have purged themselves in such cases by killing someone. Homicide is now forbidden by the Government, but women are said to be practising black magic still. Such women were propitiated in former days by gifts of food from time to time, and when a party returned from a voyage overseas particular care was taken to give presents to those women of the place who had a reputation for blasting and spoiling and for working harm.

In the past, when a feast was in course of preparation, and the date was decided upon, the men were on the watch for any manifestation of malice and envy on the part of women whose malicious character was known. The boys of the island came stealthily to their houses at night, and listened outside to hear what they were doing and saying. They appear to have had no fear, and openly gave vent to their spiteful feelings, clapping their hands and talking aloud and saying: "Is this the date they have decided on?" (clap). "Shall they eat their pigs?" (clap). "Shall they eat their areca nuts?" (clap). "Shall people come in numbers?" (clap). The listeners hurried off and informed the chief who was in charge of the feast that such-and-such a woman was practising malevolent magic against him. Stern measures were resorted to at once, and the boys were given permission to kill the woman. They provided themselves with cords and proceeded to strangle her in her own house. When it is not desired to kill such a woman, or when the boys who overhear the manifestation of malice on her part see a chance of enriching themselves out of it, they demand and receive money from her on condition that they do not tell.

There was a further practice whereby such disaffected and malicious women were put to open shame, and were driven by public feeling and public comment to abandon their evil intentions. The boys crept up at night to where one of these women was sitting and clapping her hands, and giving vent to her malevolent and blasting utterances. Taking a bamboo sliver, a boy proceeded to make a cut on her bare arm with it, and then he crawled away in the dark. Everybody in the village was informed of what the boy had done, and next morning all eyes were on the woman as she came out and went through the village. The cut was pointed at, and fingers and tongues were busy. Daylight and numbers gave the other women courage, and the would-be malefactor was frightened at the manifestation of their feelings, and was put to shame and reduced to impotence.

Fear of malice on the part of women is said to be at the bottom of the practice of not allowing young children to touch the ground on the path when they are taken by their parents to the gardens on the hills. A malicious or envious woman who saw the footmark of a child on the path would proceed to remove some of the earth on which the child had trodden. By saying an incantation over the piece of earth, and by putting it into some altar, the evil-wisher was able to cause the child to be ill. The fact of a child being able to travel on the bush-paths was a proof of its being healthy and strong, and those who wished to harm it were those whose children either had died or were unable through sickness to accompany their mothers to the gardens.

Women are credited also with the practice of malevolent magic by the use of the umbilical cord or the placenta of a newly born child. Births take place in spots that are completely avoided by men, and it is only the women who will enter them, or who will handle the particular charms used in this case. The cord and the placenta are buried on the spot after birth, and she who wishes to use them for evil purposes has presumably been present at the confinement and has seen where they were buried. When such a woman wishes to work harm to anyone, she secures a piece of the food which that person has been eating, or the skin of the areca nut, or a piece of betel-pepper leaf which the intended victim has been chewing, and proceeds to secrete it in the spot where the placenta of a male child was buried. The person whose food is thus dealt with falls ill in consequence.

There are certain men also who have a reputation for the practice of malevolent magic, but probably they are found among the Tolo people rather than among the Lau people. Such men are said to have a place set apart at the back of their houses into which no one but themselves is allowed to enter. It is there that they utter their incantations and keep the charms by means of which their magic is made effective. Such persons take pieces of food or areca skins which an intended victim has been biting, and deposit them in the place in the rear of their houses where they keep the magic lime, or the ginger, or the pieces of dracæna which have the magic power to hurt. Life in the Lau villages is too open and public for a man to have such a place in his house, and to go in for the practice as a regular thing; but in the hill country there is much isolation of the peoples, and large villages do not occur, and a malevolent person could the more easily carry on his nefarious practices without public opinion to hinder him. However, my informant made no such distinction, and one must conclude that the practice obtains among the Lau people as well.

Certain things are considered to be possessed in themselves of magical power to hurt, and these are used as charms along with the things that are abstracted from an intended victim in order to work him harm. These charms are lime, ginger, dracæna, and coleus leaves, and the leaves of certain evodias. The magic lime may be blown at a person to the accompaniment of an invocation, or it may be sprinkled on a twig of dracæna and then surreptitiously shaken over the intended victim, or blown over a piece of ginger, which is then held over the victim. There is a use also of magic lime in divination, the diviner smearing it on his forehead and on his body. The use of ginger in magic causes sores to break out on the victim's body. These sores are called *ria*, a word which elsewhere in Mala means "ginger." The coleus is known in Lau and Tolo as "hide in black magic," and this name is a sufficient explanation of the practice of taking coleus leaves and using them as a wrapper for something belonging to an intended victim, and then hiding the packet in some bae. The thin-leafed evodia which is planted in the bae has a strong smell and is much loved of women. They break pieces off any bush that they may find by the wayside and rub and sniff them, or even chew them. Any chewed piece thrown down carelessly on the path may be used by an ill-wisher, who puts it in the bae, with the result that the woman wastes away (*sio*). Tuberculosis bears the name *sio*, and this seems to point to the disease being regarded as a result of the practice of the above-mentioned magic. The dracæna which is used in Lau for malevolent magic is not the bright red variety but a variety with thin green leaves.

The bright red dracæna is used in dancing; it serves also as a protection of the taro or yam gardens against thieves, or the blasting influences of incantations, uttered in jealousy, or the malignant attacks of " wild " ghosts. It is used in ceremonial bathing in order to ward off attacks by sharks, or crocodiles, or sting-rays, and the priest and his assistants strike themselves with it when bathing after the conclusion of a feast. With the croton, it serves to bar the way against enemies. The green variety is used in divination by the shark priests in order to ascertain the whereabouts of a wanted crocodile or shark. Holding a dracæna twig in his hand, and muttering an incantation, the priest says, " Are you there? Are you there? " as he travels from place to place looking for the baekwa. When the twig moves he knows that he has located his prey. The leaves of an acacia, called *kamoi*, are used in a magical process where an enemy village is sent to sleep in order that an attack may be made on it unawares. These charms: ginger, lime, leaves, are all breathed upon before being used.

In the chapter on " Sacrifices," mention was made of the practice of depriving a man in war-time of the protection of his ancestral ghost, so that he might be killed. This was a recognized practice, and was carried out by the priest; but a private person who is actuated by anger or malice might take a piece of areca nut which the man had been eating and throw it into the bae. This had the same effect of rendering a man defenceless and open to be killed.

Malevolent magic might cause a man's head to be twisted to one side, with distortion of the mouth and eyes. In cases of this sort the services of a recognized healer were requisitioned. Gwaliasi of Sulu Vou is credited with knowing the cure for this malady by incantations, and he is also said to be able to cure yaws in a similar way.

Renton writes : " At their meals the savages are most particular to clear up every particle of the fragments of their food. It is an understood thing that should any secret enemy, any false friend, manage to obtain possession of the minutest crumb of the food of which they have partaken, of a hair of their head, or a paring of their nails, he held them in his power. Armed with this minute particle he could privately present himself before the skulls in the beu, and, casting the article before them, speak the name of the person he desired to injure and invoke evil fate for him. The person was certain to die. He might linger a few days in a rapid decline, but more frequently he would go raving mad, and die in a few hours."

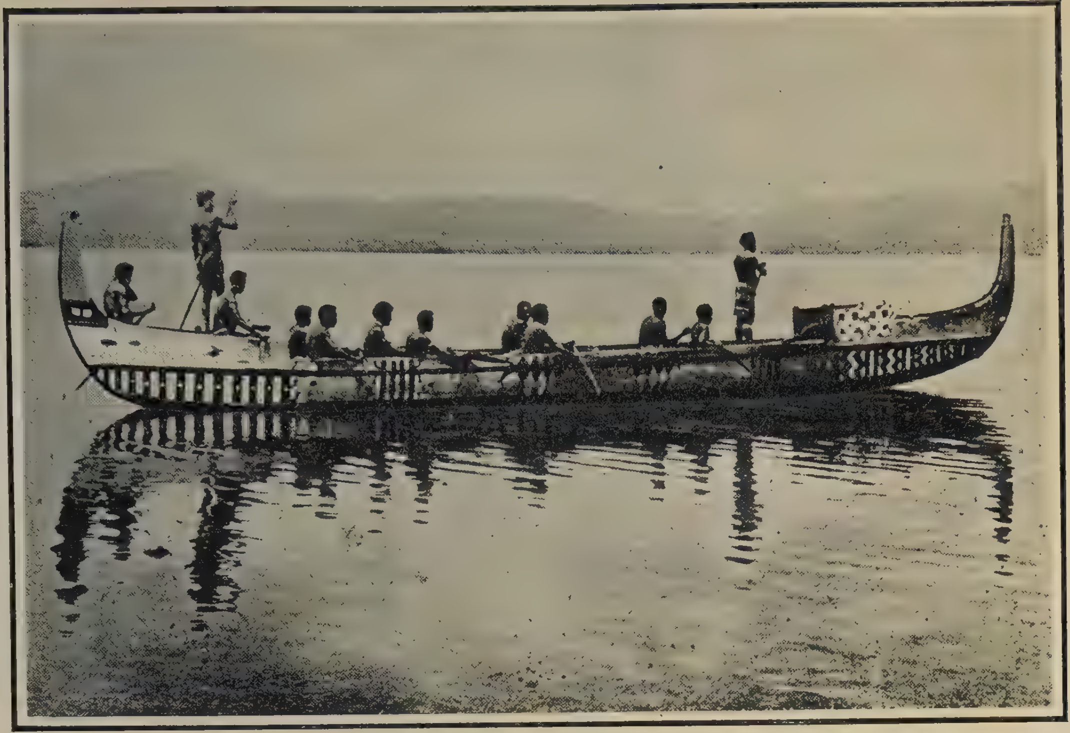
Accusations of the practice of black magic were only made after the form of divination called uunu had been carried out. That person, who was pointed out by the uunu as guilty of causing death by magic, was given up by his own people to be killed, and no reprisals were made for his death. The accused man doubtless made protestations of his innocence, but the uunu test was accepted by the rest of the people as final. The fate in store for a person who practised black magic was to be thrown to the monster groper-fish at Bita'ama.

The use of porpoise and bonito magic is said to have been introduced by people who " drifted " to Mala, foreigners who came in an outrigger canoe, and who touched at the places where porpoise and bonito-fishing have been carried out in the past. These strangers landed on the east coast of Big Mala, in various places. It is worthy of notice that the name in Lau of the place or country from which the immigrants are said to have drifted is Suuna rii, a name which means " Harbour of evodia." The thin-leafed evodia, rii, has a definite place in the magic of the Lau people, and it is one of the trees that are planted in the bae.

Funaa Vou tells of a man who was drifted there from " foreign parts." His name was Lakwa, and he is credited with having had knowledge of magic. This he employed in connexion with the fishing, and his services were much in request. Some of the hill people were desirous of using his powers for magical purposes of their own, but the others were afraid of him and refused to allow him to visit them. Whether Lakwa was a castaway from some other part of the Solomons I cannot say.

Two Lau practices may be classed as instances of magic which was non-malevolent, viz. weather-making and attracting of women. Neither of these is carried out by the priests, and those who officiate have acquired the necessary knowledge from their predecessors. The weather-makers are employed by a chief who is going overseas with a party, or by a chief who is about to conduct a maoma feast. Their services are always paid for. The main requisite is the knowledge of the incantations by means of which favourable weather is granted. The practice of weather-making is known as " a fence of sticks," and the process consists in setting up sticks in a ring in the ground, binding them together, and placing a coco-nut inside them. The sticks are driven into the ground alongside the eaves of the beu of the particular chief concerned. This place is chosen as being one likely to be free from molestation or from accidental knocking. The fence is left undisturbed till the return of the party, or till after the feast is over. It is then broken up and the coco-nut is taken and planted. A further process consists in taking a bamboo, filling it with water, and setting sprigs of the red dracæna in it. The whole is placed under the eaves of the chief's beu, and is removed when all is over. There is no one left now on Sulu Vou who knows the necessary incantations for this magic, and the same thing is true, probably, of all the rest of the artificial islands. The practice has fallen into desuetude owing to the greater movement among the peoples in modern days.

Success in attracting women and in gaining their affections is brought about by the use of incantations said over an areca



LANGALANGA OVERSEAS CANOE, MALA

THE CANOES ARE PLANK-BUILT, THE STEM AND STERN BEING ADDED LAST. THE STEERSMAN SITS ALOFT IN THE STERN. DESIGNS ARE PAINTED ON THE SIDES. SAILS ARE NOT USED.

nut or a betel-pepper leaf, or a piece of tobacco, which are then handed to the woman whom it is desired to influence. The practice is known as *ilu* or *mamamu*. The former phrase is also used at Sa'a and Ulawa for the same practice, and Mr. N. Deck told me that *ilu* amongst the Kwara 'Ae people denotes a magical attraction, an irresistible drawing of the affections towards an object for no known reason. The second word, *mamamu*, explains itself, for it means " a bait." The young men in Lau who took round the decorated canoe for exhibition used incantations to make the girls of a place come and admire them, or to make the girls of their own island come and watch them and make them presents when they returned after their trip.

The word used for divination in Lau is *inala*, and diviners are called *ngwane inala*. Special men amongst the Lau people act as diviners, but the priests do not practise it. The chief requisite is the knowledge of the incantations that are proper to the purpose. All incantations of every sort end in an appeal to ghosts, and in Lau this particular ending is called *foo ngwane* (pray to men, or, bind men). The only possible meaning of this must be that the particular ghosts invoked are regarded as having once been men. Diviners are paid a fee for their work. Divination is resorted to in sickness, after a theft, when a person is taken by a shark or a crocodile, when a net fails to catch fish, when the porpoise-hunting is a failure, when there is a suspicion of malevolent magic being the cause of a person's death.

The things used in divination are bows, red and green dracæna, leaves of certain trees, coco-nuts, lime, a plate of shell. In divination for sickness many names of ghosts are suggested, and when the right one is mentioned the bow that is used moves in an uncontrollable fashion, and it is said that the ghost is causing it to shake. The diviners paint their faces and bodies with magic lime when they are engaged in their work. When divination is resorted to in order to ascertain the guilt of anyone accused of theft, leaves of red dracæna are pulled for the purpose of getting an answer to the questions asked. The leaf is first split down the middle, then one half is wrapped round the other in order to strengthen it, and a knot is tied in it. The person's guilt is decided by pulling the leaf; the question being first asked whether he is guilty. If the leaf breaks when pulled, the answer is "Yes," if it is unbroken the answer is "No." In the chapter on porpoise-hunting a description is given of the divination which was undertaken by the priest when the hunting was a failure. The employment of a priest in this case is due to the fact that it is the ancestral ghosts who manifest their power by means of this divination. The person who has blasted the porpoise-hunting, causing it to fail, is an offender against the ghosts under whose care the hunting is carried out, and they will discover him. The diviner who acts in a case where a net has failed to catch fish is a man who is related to the chief who owns the net, and thus to the chief's ancestors whose business it is to provide fish for the net. The special shell-plate used in divination in order to discover things that have been lost, or that have been abstracted maliciously, is kept in the priest's sacred bag. It is placed on the forehead or in the palm of the hand during divination. An affirmative answer to a question is given by the plate remaining firm in its position and not falling off. The ghosts who restored an article that had been abstracted caused a whistling noise to be heard as an announcement that the article was on the way.

A special form of divination peculiar to North Mala is that which is known as *suli uunu* (follow the torch) or *labu uunu* (set up the torch). The practice described here is followed both in Lau and in Tolo, when an attempt is made to discover the person who has brought about a death by malevolent magic. From the fact of the Tolo origin of the word it is evident that the practice came to Lau from the hill people. It is a practice that is common to the whole of North Mala, and the people have a fixed belief in its efficacy, and say that it is infallible.

When it is desired to find out the man who is guilty of causing a death by malevolent magic, a diviner is put in charge of the investigation. He first erects a fence of sticks at the side of the beu of the chief who is said to have been killed by magic. He takes the leaves of certain trees along with leaves of the green dracæna, and puts them into the enclosure thus made along with a coco-nut. As he works he keeps on repeating the proper incantations. The proceedings are carried out at dead of night, and at a time when there is no moon. The diviner keeps watch over the charms till he begins to see a small light proceeding from them, like the light of a firefly. He points this out to his helpers, and they and he follow it wherever it leads them. If it takes them inland they follow on foot; if it goes off to sea they get into their canoes and follow. Their quest may lead them to a village on the mainland, or to one of the artificial islands. When the light is obscured, they all wait till the diviner has seen it again. Presumably some of his helpers see it also, as well as he, but my informant said that he once was out on such a quest and did not see any light for his part.

The party then is led to a certain house, and the light is seen to settle on it. Inside the house a man is heard talking in his sleep; he wakes up and says that a ghost is eating him (he has nightmare). The diviners say that the "light has entered him." He protests his innocence, or rushes out of the house and enters another house in the village. The light follows him wherever he goes and his people acquiesce in the test.

When the diviners return and make their report, a war-party sets out to kill the accused man. If he is a person who is feared because of his prowess, blood-money is put out for his death. If it is a local man, a near relative, who is found guilty by this following of the light, he is sent away and is not killed. Once, after a divination of this kind at

Sulu Vou, a hill man living on the island was thus tracked down by the light. He managed to escape to Fou Ii'a on the mainland opposite, but he was surrounded there and shot. His body was buried on Fou bebe alongside.

Renton did not himself witness a performance of the uunu divination, and his account of it was derived from what the people told him. He states that the light came from the head of the person who had been killed by malevolent magic. The light rose above the head and floated in the air. After a while it made its way out of the beu, and flitted away through the village and out over the lagoon, increasing in magnitude till it assumed the brightness of a star. As it quitted the body and flitted through the village, the watchers silently followed it, embarking in their canoes, and paddling after it into the darkness of the night. Wherever the light might go, thither they would follow, keeping silence all the time. It might take them to a village miles away, or it might circle round and bring them back to the beu from which they had started; but in any case it would settle at last on the roof which sheltered the man who had practised the malignant magic.

When it settled it would spread and swell till the whole roof seemed to be throwing off tongues of fire. The avengers would await the conclusion, coming noiselessly near as possible; and before long the sleeper would awake, oppressed by a nameless terror, bathed in sweat, the hair of his flesh arising; sometimes awaking with a start he would rush out and bury himself in the bush or fling himself into the sea.

Where a man is accused, after divination, of theft or of having caused the fishing to fail, it is open to him to declare his innocence by calling on the name of some big ghost like Sina Kwao, or some ancestral shark. Such a denial is accepted as final, it being understood that the ghost invoked would punish the man if he was lying.

Certain things on land or sea furnish omens which portend either death or war. On land there are birds, lizards, and snakes, which are observed as omens ; at sea, the appearance of an octopus or of sea-snakes, or of several kinds of fish, is held to be an omen of evil. The word used in Lau for an unfavourable omen is *faatai maea* (show death). The particular birds in question are the kwisi, the korokoro, the owl, the night heron, and the cries of these furnish omens. The kwisi is a grey bird about the size of a blackbird, which frequents the trees of the coast, and is an incessant chatterer. One call of the bird as it flits about is held to mean "No," while its repeated chatter denotes that everything is all right. The name "kwisi" is onomatopoetic, as is generally the case with bird-names. A single cry by the bird might have the effect of turning a war-party back. The korokoro cries either by day or night, and the bird's name exactly represents its cry. I have never come across any native who could tell me what the bird was like, save that it was small in size. It seems to live in the thick bush. At war-time, when nerves are unstrung, the cry of the korokoro coming off the hills in the quiet of the night may well have been taken as a warning of impending trouble. The scratchings of a megapod in a yam or taro garden also furnish an omen of war.

A black skink is observed as an omen in Lau. If one such crosses a man's path when he is going on any expedition that may involve danger to himself, he will turn back. The snake called baekwa i Tolo (the hill shark) is much dreaded by the Lau people ; if one of these is seen lying curled up on a man's path it is regarded as an omen of a death ; if it is seen lying stretched out asleep it is an omen of impending war. Anyone who thus encounters a baekwa i Tolo will turn back and go home and report what he has seen. The Tolo people regard cicadas and fireflies as the ghosts of unknown people, or ghosts of the forests, and the shrilling of a cicada is interpreted as an omen of coming trouble.

Two sea-snakes, *ngwane asi* and *malo*, furnish omens of evil, of death, or war, and anyone who encountered either them or an octopus in the lagoon, or at sea when fishing, will betake himself back to land. The big garfish that scuttles over the surface of the sea when chasing its prey provides an omen, as do also the fishes called kalua, unuunua, sinu.

The cry of the land kingfisher called " i'i " or " toretore," is said to presage either rain or fine weather, according to the time when it cries. If it cries during rain, it is held that the sun will soon be out, and if it cries during a sunny period it is said that the bird is crying for the rain. Sneezing is held to be a sign of someone calling the person who sneezes, a friend in some place far off, *e.g.* a member of a party gone overseas. If a Lau man sneezes on waking in the morning he considers it a sign of good luck for the day's fishing. The appearance of an ancestral shark circling round a canoe, which is in danger from storms, is hailed as a sign of deliverance. The shark named Tae i fanua (Go up on land) at Langalanga is said to appear thus to his people when in danger at sea. Thunder occurring about the time when certain fish are expected to arrive in the lagoon is regarded as a sign of their being due.

Men who are known as diviners are said to be able to see visions during their sleep, and to track out guilty persons thereby, or to discover the whereabouts of lost articles. Such dreams or visions are deliberately prepared for by the use of incantations, and by the smearing of the face and body with lime. In the case of the ordinary person a dream is considered to be what the soul saw during sleep when it left the body. On its return it told the man what it had seen, and this constituted his dream. In certain cases dreams may be acted on, *e.g.* when a man's life or the life of anyone belonging to him was in danger, or if he dreamed that he caught fish in a certain place, or if, in his dream, he saw pigs breaking into his gardens.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

Ceremonies : Tabu : Restrictions : Curses

TRAVEL CEREMONIES.—When a party travels overseas an areca nut or a coco-nut is placed in the bow of the canoe as an offering to the ancestral ghosts. The leader of the party sits by himself on the first seat of the canoe so that he may be recognized when a landing is made at any place. A certain amount of danger is attached to such a position in the event of an attack being made by those on shore, and this explains the phrase "champion in the bows," which occurs in the formal salutation of a chief. The leader of an overseas party does no paddling. When the canoe arrives at its destination the shore people wade out to it carrying a present of a pig and shell-money and areca nuts, and these are put on board the canoe before it is unloaded and before any of the crew go ashore. Some of the areca nuts, together with a coco-nut, are placed in the bows as an offering to the ghosts. When the party returns home, these offerings are given to the priest, and he puts them in the beu aabu. On coastal journeys there are no restrictions on eating food or on eating the betel-mixture; but when a party travels to some place overseas, no eating or drinking is allowed till after arrival. When the canoe is drawing near the shore, a coco-nut is thrown into the sea as an offering to the ancestral sharks.

When a canoe returns home after a voyage, coco-nuts from those given to the crew are placed in the inner part of the beu aabu, where they lie till they rot. The members of the crew hold these nuts in their hands and tap them, and then throw them into the beu aabu. There is always a heap of coco-nuts in the beu aabu, the accumulation of offerings made to the ghosts in cases of sickness, etc., and at times the priest gathers them all up and throws them into the bae. Coco-nuts are scarce among the Lau people, and when a party returns from a voyage there is a general distribution of coco-nuts. This is done more or less formally, and is called *bobotalaa* (breaking). The crew take husked nuts, which they have brought with them, and break them on stones outside the beu of the chief who has led the party. The younger boys rush the nuts and make off with them.

THE BARU KWAOA.—The decorated canoe called baru kwaoa, white, or limed, canoe is specially made in connexion with the ceremonies consequent upon the death feast of a chief. The builders are under certain restrictions, and are not allowed to eat the betel-mixture or, in later days, to smoke while they are at their work. All of them must eat together at the one time, and then they may smoke or eat the betel-mixture. The workers are free to mix with the other villagers and to visit their homes during the building, but the chief for whom the canoe is being built must stay in his beu till it is completed. The canoe is inlaid with trochus shell, and the inlaying is done inside a barrier in order that it may not be seen by the women and the younger children. The sections of the trochus shell used for decorating canoes in Lau in the past were made at Ngwalulu Island and were obtained by purchase. Other decorative shell-work was done with pieces of the pearl nautilus, porpoises and fish and men-of-war hawks being the chief designs. The baru kwaoa is decorated on the stem and stern with strips of the fan-palm dyed red. The dyeing is done by the hill people, and the streamers are sold ready for use. Black and white feathers, hornbill's and cockatoo's, are tied in bunches above each 'isu, and offerings of coco-nuts are laid in the bows. A baru kwaoa holds from twenty to thirty men. The steersman sits aloft on a seat in the stern 'isu, level with the gunwale. He sets the timing of the stroke by a signal made by hitting his paddle on the side of the canoe. While engaged in steering he is not allowed to eat anything, but must vacate his seat if he wishes to eat any food, or to eat of the betel-mixture. The owner does not do any paddling, but sits up in the bows.

A feast is held when the baru kwaoa is first launched, and then the owner takes it round on a formal visit to other islands and landing-places in order to receive presents from those on whom he calls. This is called *atoato*, a word common to Mala and Florida as descriptive of this practice. Wherever the canoe calls the conch is formally blown at the landing-place, and the local people come down carrying presents of shell-money or porpoise-teeth which are handed to the chief. The gifts made correspond with the status of the donors and are according to their ability. Every present is remembered, and a return will be made when the donors themselves build a canoe and go atoato. Care is taken on the return home that the bodies of the crew are quite cool and free from sweat; but no such restriction holds when they are visiting the other places.

A victim was demanded for each baru kwaoa built, but the Lau practice was to seek a victim after return from atoato, and not when the canoe was launched. Similarly, when a Tolo chief built a big new beu a victim was not killed until after all the ceremonies for the beu were finished. In Lau a victim might be bought, or some inoffensive person might be captured and carried off. The method usually followed was to carry off the intended victim in the canoe, and then tell him to jump out and bathe. He was killed while in the water in order that his blood might not defile the canoe. The body of the victim was abandoned. The Lau people have a very wholesome fear of the magic of the Areare people, and if a victim was killed at Takataka, or Olimburi, or Maana wai in the Areare district, care was taken not to leave any blood marks lest they served as a means for the use of magic which would result in the death of some of the crew. Three such baru kwaoa are said to have existed at the one time on Sulu Vou, and in 1927 there was an old one at Fera subua.

Kwaisulia built a baru kwaoa at Ada Gege and went atoato in it as far as Sa'a. On return he sought a victim and made a voyage to Gao, Ysabel Island. A party of over a hundred men set out in four canoes, three baru kwaoa and one big baru ni geni. They found people in canoes off the Ysabel coast and killed seven of the occupants, one of whom was a woman. Some of those who accompanied the expedition are still alive. It would appear to be on the strength of this raid on Gao that Kwaisulia claimed the ownership of Basakana Island, giving out to white people that he was avenging the raid made on the island by Fasi bou long before.

The Building of a Beu Aabu.—A beu aabu (holy house) in Lau, has to be built in a day. For some time previous all the materials are prepared and brought to the spot; the thatch is sewn and the cane ties made ready. On a given day all the men and the elder boys set to work soon after daylight, and no one eats or drinks, or eats the betel-mixture, or smokes till the work is done. The beu aabu on Sulu Vou is only a mere shell, but is very high and of considerable width. There is a doorway on the south side which leads into a narrow compartment running the whole width, and which is divided from the main beu by a partition made with sago palm thatch, A further doorway gives access to the second part. In the left-hand corner of the first part is the altar called gwau lumu which is fenced off with boards. The priest and his assistants may sleep on the ground in this front portion if they wish, and the men of the place are free to enter it. Into the rear portion only the priest and his assistants may enter. The roof is supported in the usual way by three rows of posts let into the coral, one row supporting the ridge, and the other two carrying the side poles.

A number of extra poles are set up to support the cross-beams and to act as stays to the wide poles. On the west side of the inner portion there is an altar on which pigs may be sacrificed, and the coco-nuts which are offered to the ghosts are also laid on it. Fragments of old turtle-nets are hung round the walls. The building is cold owing to the absence of fires, and spiders have spun their webs all over the interior. The thatch is not likely to last very long under these conditions, and the Lau people at the best of times put on a very inferior roof. The sides of the beu aabu are merely covered in with sago palm leaves sewn on to reeds or cane. The rafters are made of saplings. There is a feast at the close of the day when the building of a new beu is finished, both cooked food and raw food being distributed. The people speak of the feast as a " warming," owing to their feeling cold through having fasted all day. A further feast is held later when the pigs are fit for killing and special food has been grown. When a beu aabu is put up for the first time the priest buries certain leaves at the foot of the main post near the doorway. This seems to be the modern equivalent of an old-time custom of burying a victim there. The beu aabu is the " debbil-debbil " house of the trader.

The following story of the building of a beu aabu by a chief on the mainland near Sulu Vou is valuable as containing a legend of the offering of a human victim at such times. The chief ordered all the women of the village to leave the place while the men proceeded to build the beu. All the materials were prepared beforehand and the work was to be done in a day. The workers were all fasting. One girl, the chief's daughter, who was ulcerous, stayed in the bisi and did not leave with the rest of the women. As the men worked she watched them by stealth. Everything went wrong with the building, nothing was straight, the poles would not stand up, and the ridge-pole kept falling off. The chief surmised that some woman had disobeyed him and stayed in the village, so he sent men out to search. They found the girl in the bisi, and came and told him his daughter was there. " No matter," said he, " bring her here ! " They brought her and and buried her alive at the foot of the first post, and then everything went well.

Lau also has the tale common in the Solomons about the cutting of the tops of the posts which carry the ridge-poles in the shape of a native dog's prick ears. People at first cut the tops of the posts square, with the result that the ridge poles kept falling off. Then a dog said: "Look at me! Make your beu like that!" No one took any heed to what he said, and the poles fell off again. Then the dog spoke again, and someone said: "Hear what the dog is saying!" Then they cut the tops with a curve and laid the poles on, and all was well.

First-fruits.—Offerings are made of the first-fruits of canarium almonds and of yams in Lau. When the canarium nuts are ripe, and before any are eaten, a bunch of them is plucked and is hung in front of the priest's beu. The pigeons knock down many of the nuts, but even the children will not eat what they find on the ground till such time as the offering is made. On the day appointed, after the bunch has been hung up, the men of the place take a nut in their hands and throw it into the lasi altar saying, *ngali hatagu* (a nut for me, my name). All are then free to gather and eat the nuts. When a yam garden is ripe, the owner first brings a leaf of the yam vine to the priest, then he digs the first yam from the sacred square in the middle of the garden and takes it to the priest, and after that the men may eat of the first-fruits. As at Sa'a, a chief in Lau may superintend the offering of first-fruits as well as a priest, but he uses the fafaraa altar, either that at the rear of his beu where the skulls of the dead are kept, or the one in the village. The new nuts may be thrown into the fafaraa, and the new yams may be deposited in it or hung up round it. The yam harvest follows the offering of the new yams.

Ceremonial Bathing.—The priest and his assistants purge themselves from the weight of the sacrifices which they have been offering by ceremonial bathing at the conclusion of the ceremonies. They stand in the sea and strike themselves with pieces of the red dracæna, saying incantations the while. They also wash out their mouths with salt water. Men who wish to ward off from themselves attacks by sharks, or crocodiles, or swordfish, or sting-rays, will bathe early in the morning in the sea, sprinkling themselves with water, reciting incantations, and striking their bodies with pieces of croton.

Reception into a Beu.—At a feast given for the occasion and called "wooden mortar," the younger lads of a Lau village are admitted by the priest into the beu of the chief of their family. The priest first eats the betel-mixture, and then rubs the red saliva from his mouth on their foreheads and chests. The lads are given skins of the areca nut to suck at the same time in order to make them strong in war.

Burning Areca Nut Skins.—The skins of the areca nuts which are eaten in the betel-mixture are put in the shoulder-bag which every man carries, till such time as they can be thrown on to the heap of skins in the corner of the beu. The fear of malevolent magic prevents the indiscriminate throwing away of these skins after the nut has been eaten. A large heap of the skins accumulates in the beu, and these are burned in the open, at a feast held for the purpose, and called, "the feast of the burning of rubbish."

The Appointment of a Person as Manu.—A man is appointed by the Lau people to act as taster of the sacrifice. This person is known as *Manu*. The man so chosen was bought for the purpose, or he might be one who had been taken captive in a raid and kept with a view to his being made Manu. The last Manu in Lau was a man of the village of Ngwalo, on Ngwalulu Island, named Tolifou. The sole duty of the Manu appears to have been that he ate first of the sacrifice and thereby took off its weight from those who ate afterwards. But, when war was decided upon, the custom was for the men of the place to run up to the Manu and slap him on the back, saying, "Give me a victim." The connexion of the Manu person with war may have preceded his employment in connexion with the sacrifices.

Tabu.—To protect a thing by a tabu in Lau is *lui* (to forbid), or *faaabu* (to make sacred). The tabus may be imposed by chiefs or by ordinary people. The chief tabus his fishing ground and his garden plots, the owners of fruit trees tabu their property. Certain tabus depend for their efficacy on the incantation which is employed when the tabu marks are set up ; others are of value because those who see the tabu marks respect the wishes of the owner of the piece of property which it is desired to tabu. The tabu sign that is usually employed in Lau is a piece of the dry branch of a coco-nut tree, but in certain cases the throwing of a leaf or a branch of a tree at the foot of a fruit tree which it is desired to tabu serves the same purpose. To break a tabu is to "steal" it.

TABUING FISHING GROUNDS.—When a maoma feast is decided on, the chief who is in charge proceeds to tabu his fishing ground with a view to the increase of the fish there, and to prevent their being frightened by the passing of casual canoes. The tabu mark consists of a pole set up on the spot with a dry coco-nut branch tied to it. The pole is erected by the chief or by his son, and an incantation is used. This gives ghostly protection to the tabu, and prevents any likelihood of its being broken. No bodily ill results from any breaking of this tabu, and if it were broken—a most unlikely contingency—the payment of a fine would put matters right. Should any hill chief ask for a supply of fish during the incidence of the tabu, he is supplied with them on the payment of shell-money. A fishing ground may be tabued in September in order to provide fish to be eaten at the feast of the new canarium nuts. To tabu a fishing ground is known as "setting up a pole over the sea." The chiefs on Sulu Vou, and Kwao the chief of Ada Gege, own fishing rights extending from Urasi passage to the passage called Olo'ata, and can tabu them when they wish to do so.

A bare pole set up on the edge of an artificial island, or a pole with a dry coco-nut branch tied to it, is a sign that a maoma feast is in course of preparation, and that certain restrictions are being observed by the people. A bunch of the leaves of the putty-nut, *Parinarium laurinum*, set on a pole is a sign that the death feast of a chief is being celebrated.

Tabuing Fruit Trees.—There are two forms of tabu employed in connexion with those fruit trees which it is desired to protect from unauthorized persons. The first one consists in tying a piece of a dry coco-nut branch round the tree in question, together with the use of an incantation. The trees so protected are coco-nuts, areca nuts, canarium nuts, breadfruit. The owner of the tree, after tabuing it and saying the incantation, tells his neighbours what he has done. Certain diseases and ailments in Lau are said to be due to the breaking of this tabu. These are as follows: running sores on legs and shoulders and elbows, distended stomach, sores and wasting of the body, constipation, swollen testicles, death in childbirth, head on one side.

An ordinary tabu of fruit trees is effected by breaking off a branch of certain trees, a nettle being commonly used, and throwing it at the foot of the tree which is to be tabued. This tabu may be employed by a chief in connexion with a particular piece of garden ground which he wishes to reserve; but should any of his people approach him with the request that they be allowed to plant it, permission may be granted and the tabu lifted.

When a big taro garden is being prepared with a view to the provision of food for a forthcoming maoma feast, the ordinary protective measures are employed against theft, or blasting influences, or the attack of "wild" ghosts. These consist of pieces of red dracæna set up at the corners of the garden.

The restrictions and prohibitions binding on the Lau people are as follows: 1. *The confining of men to the beu.*—The owner of a new baru kwaoa is not allowed to leave his beu and go to his private house while the canoe is being built. A similar restriction applies also to the owners both of the ordinary fishing-net and of the turtle-net, who are not allowed to leave their beus till the newness has worn off the nets. When a yam garden is planted to provide food for a maoma feast, ten men are confined to the beu, and they may not visit their homes from the time of the sprouting of the yams till the harvest is dug. 2. *Restrictions as to the eating of yams.*—The eating of yams by women who are *enceinte* is confined to two hard yams called luka and gamo. A mother is allowed to roast these two yams and chew them, giving the masticated lump to her children. Women who are undergoing separation in the bisi must not eat yams at all. Yams and areca nuts must not be eaten in the neighbourhood of the bisi. Women must not pass underneath yams that are stored in the house, or in the storehouse built for the purpose. When women are eating yams they must not throw a piece at a man and no one must cross a woman's legs when she is eating a yam. These restrictions doubtless owe their origin to the fact that yams are scarce in North Mala. No sacredness of any sort attaches to taro in Lau, and the women can eat any taro they like. Sulu Vou people and their relatives in the neighbouring islands must not pound taro to make a yam mash.

Owing to the scarcity of areca nuts, both of the cultivated variety and of the wild variety, the Lau women and children did not eat the betel-mixture in old days. The younger boys were given the skins to suck after their fathers had bitten the nuts and taken the kernel out. In Tolo, the wives of the chiefs are said to have eaten the betel-mixture in the old days. This would seem to have been owing to the presence of the wild areca nut in sufficient quantities in the hills. 3. *Coco-nuts.*—Childless women are not allowed to plant coco-nuts. They must be planted by a woman who has several children, and at the planting the children must all climb on her back. For restrictions as to the eating of coco-nuts during the preparation for a feast, *see* p. 211. 4. *Restrictions as to the eating of fish.*—Certain fish are tabu to pregnant women, and at childbirth both the father and the mother are under restrictions as to the eating of fish. After eating turtle, the people must not go to their gardens lest the yams and the taro suffer in consequence. Certain fish are tabu to families and to whole islands. The fish called loba, a red fish, must not be eaten or even caught by the people of Sulu Vou, Ada Gege, Saua, Fera subua, Liulana asi. The reason assigned for this is that Leo, the common ancestor of them all, admired this fish. If a loba is caught in the net it is set free again. The Tolo people will not eat the ulafu (*Oligorus gigas*), and Funaa Vou will not eat the fish called tagaafu. Fish struck by the fish-hawk, and then dropped, are not eaten. The bird strikes the eyes of the fish and knocks them out, and to eat of such fish would mean that one's eyes would be put out in battle. Women will not eat fish that are shot with a bow ; probably this is owing to the connexion of the war ghosts with the bow. It is allowable for them to eat fish that have been speared.

Curses.—The curses in Lau are of five kinds : 1. Cursing a person by bidding him " eat " a ghost, saying, " You eat the ghost in such-and-such a place." This is tantamount to delivering the person so cursed to the power of the ghost in question. Such cursing is done out of anger or malice, or it may take place during a fight when a man will curse his enemy thus. The dugong must not be eaten by those families among the Lau people who claim descent from it ; and if a husband were to say to his wife (she being of the dugong family), " You eat dugong," the woman would sicken and die as a result of the curse. 2. Cursing a net so that it fails to catch fish. There is no form of words special to the curse ; it is sufficient for a malicious person to say, " Shall they catch fish ! " When a net fails to catch fish it is said to be *sua* (ceremonially defiled), or *'ato* (difficult), and a divination reveals that such-and-such a person has cursed it. The guilty man confesses, and makes an offering to the protecting ghost of the net. 3. Cursing a person or a thing by associating him or it with the suggestion that he or it be dirted upon. This curse, if used to or of a chief, or of his fishing-net, might be punished with death. To use this curse to a fighting-man in connexion with his father's grave, or the relics of Sina Kwao, or the person of the priest, causes him to go out and kill someone in order to be purged. A similar curse used in connexion with the bisi, or the places of retirement, was not so serious, but was atoned for by the payment of a fine. 4. A chief might curse himself by saying, " If you cross my legs you may do such-and-such a thing ! " This is tantamount to saying that those who wish to do a certain thing will have to commit adultery with the chief's wife, and its use is a final deterrent. 5. A form of cursing which is accompanied by the use of an incantation is known as uvasi, or as dorea. A malicious person may thus curse a coco-nut tree, or an areca nut tree, or a taro garden, praying that they be blasted and unfruitful.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

The North-east Lagoon and Its People

THE north-east lagoon on Mala affords a pleasing sight on a fine day when the tide is full and the sun has passed the zenith and is sloping towards the big hills at the back. The colours in the afternoon are entrancing to the eye as one views the lagoon from the top of the little hill on which the coastal village of Fou Ii'a is built. Immediately in front is Sulu Vou, rising straight out of a blue sea, its sides yellow and gold as the sunlight strikes on the sago-palm leaves which form the thatch and the walls of the houses. Thin blue smoke from the cooking fires finds its way through the thatch, and rests like a light cloud over the island. Tall green coco-nut trees mount guard over the men's beus and the beu aabu, and the dark mass of the big barringtonia shows black through their stems. Light fleecy clouds hang over the point that marks the southern end of the big bay in which the descendants of Leo have made their homes. Between this point and Sulu Vou there is a succession of artificial islands, some small, some large.

Under the far point may be seen the smoke of the house-fires on Saua and Fera subua; out in the fairway is Liulana asi standing all by itself; in the middle distance a big beu on Alite i fafo shows up all white in the sunlight, and seems to be set in the very sea. On the right are valleys all bathed in a deep blue and leading up to the hills beyond, which again are set in an atmosphere of indigo blue that ravishes the eye as one sees it through the coco-nut trees of the shore. In the early morning a grey mist hangs all along the ridge called Morodo, when the steep sides of the island are bathed in the warm sunlight. All the moisture in the south-east trade-wind is caught by that high ridge; its people live in a perpetual fog or rain, and the trees on it are all moss-laden. The slopes leading up to the ridge bear the significant name of "Full bottoms." The shore people who go up to Morodo say they cannot sleep for the cold, and the Morodo people who come to the shore say they cannot rest there because of the heat. The water of the streams high up in the hills is far too cold to bathe in from a shore man's point of view, and some of the fountain-heads that gush out of the hills are so cold that they make the teeth chatter when one drinks of them. Shore men who sleep for the night at Morodo generally have an attack of malaria owing to the change in temperature.

The hills above the lagoon carry a big population, and the clearings, where the taro gardens are, show up plainly in the light of the morning sun. The planting of the taro goes on all through the year, and the plants have no special season like the yam has. The size of the taro bulbs seems to increase the higher one goes on the hills, and some of the taros that come to the shore-markets are as large as an unhusked coco-nut. A big taro of this sort has to be cut up and roasted in an earth oven, but the smaller ones are cooked by being roasted on hot embers. Taros constitute the whole vegetable food of the hill people, and for a relish to eat with his taros the bushman must attend a shore-market and exchange taros for fish. If he comes from far off he may be faced with a journey of at least twenty miles there and back in order to get his fish. It must be fifteen miles by the bush tracks to the Morodo ridge, and yet the people there come down to trade for fish at the shore-markets. On the way they have to cross and recross streams of icy-cold water, and climb steep slippery faces of red clay where each person in the file touches the heels of the one in front. The women carry the loads, and the men who accompany them for protection march on ahead carrying nothing nowadays but a club. Before the pacification of North Mala the men, when travelling thus, carried firearms.

The pace of travel is a fast one, and those of the people, women and all, who come from the far hills average four miles an hour on the whole journey.

The birds of the foreshore are very few compared with those of a place like Sa'a. The edge of the lagoon is fringed with mangrove swamps, and there are very few flats on which fruit trees or nut trees of any sort could grow that would be likely to attract birds. One sees and hears white cockatoos as they fly over the swamps or settle in some tall tree; an occasional hornbill flies past in the dusk of the morning just before sunrise, and the rushing noise of its wings is a sound which is easily distinguished. From the mangrove swamps comes the cry "Ngwau, ngwau," that denotes the presence of the big wood-pigeon. The grey kwisi chatters in the coco-nuts of the shore or in the casuarina trees, to be replaced at dusk and all through the moonlight nights by the big bat, the "flying fox," with its shrill cries and its noisy flutterings. The black wagtail, with its white breast, flirts about among the shore trees of the clearings, or sits on the housetops singing merrily the while, and every now and then darting off after some insect. Other than these the place is devoid of birds on the landward side.

On the little beaches sandpipers, some of them migrants who appear in September, run busily to and fro jerking their tails and uttering their little cries, and the beautiful golden-backed plovers from far-off China, which also arrive in September, stand on the rocks of the foreshore and hunt their food with every retreating wavelet, or even settle in the village clearings on the look-out for worms and small insects. Black egrets stalk their prey in the pools near the shore, and occasionally a white egret appears, one of the many white egrets that occupy the trees on Funaa Vou. A few wild duck fly over the lagoon in the evenings, making for the river mouths, and snipe fly up and down the coast as they are disturbed at their feeding-places. The fish-hawk looks for his food in the shallows, and every now and then he strikes, and then, rising again, gives himself a shake and flies off to some neighbouring tree to eat his fish. A few white gulls swoop down on shoals of fish, and occasionally one sees a man-of-war hawk over the lagoon, and, more rarely still, an eagle.

The reef is far off from Sulu Vou and Fou Ii'a, and it is only at night that the sound of the surf on it can be heard from there, but the tide-waters break with gentle lappings against the rock-wall of the artificial island, and the little waves are forced against the rise of the hill on which Fou Ii'a stands.

The only snake that one sees in the coast-lands is the one called " slow snake," a whip-snake which is so-called owing to its slow movements. It is not deadly, and the people welcome its appearance in the houses, where it is said to eat the bush rats. But it is fond of hens' eggs, and often meets its death in consequence. Two other snakes are reported as living in the hill country, the loi, which is said to be deadly, but which may be a carpet snake, and the baekwa i Tolo (shark of the hills). This latter snake is said to be very small and deaf, and harmless unless trodden on, in which case it injects a fluid with its tail which has a sting like that of a sting-ray. The name applied to it, shark of the hills, classes it, in native opinion, with sharks and crocodiles as harmful to human beings. A man who is stung by this snake will not necessarily die. His stomach is upset and he vomits. It is held that, after being stung by it, he will be immune from the pain of a centipede bite. The Lau people will not eat snakes, and the Tolo people associate them with the ghosts, and so they will not eat them either.

The native fowls have long been extinct, but the name *kua* (fowl), still survives as a proof of their one-time existence. The native dog figured in the porpoise-hunting, being given pieces of the food of the " sacred company " before the men ate of it. To-day there are said to be packs of wild dogs in the hills, the offspring of the native dogs and of imported dogs. Their presence is a result of the Government order that natives' dogs were to be taxed. This had the effect on Mala and Ulawa of a very considerable diminution in the number of village dogs, whose presence hitherto had kept down the wild dogs. These wild dogs live on bush rats, crabs, iguanas, lizards, and on the gigantic rat of the Solomons, *Mus rex*. This rat is now practically extinct in North Mala.

Mr. Woodford was of opinion that there were two varieties of this rat, one arboreal, the other living in holes on the ground. The reports given to me varied, some said there were two kinds, others maintained that there was only the terrestrial kind. I myself think that this rat lives in the ground, but climbs trees as well. It has teeth strong enough to crack the hard canarium almonds, and its Lau name, *furi ngali* (Cut off ngali), is indicative of its powers.

Certain birds were tamed in times past in North Mala. The young of the fish-hawk were taken by the Lau people and were fed on the islands. When the birds were full grown they flew off and struck fish in the lagoon, and brought them back to the village. The hill people tamed owls and kept them as a protection against thieves who came after the village pigs. The pigs slept at night alongside their owners' houses, and when thieves came about at night the owls started to hoot, and this roused the owners. The hill people are said to have been expert pig-stealers. They would entice a pig in the daylight with a piece of fish and get it away from its haunts, leading it on to where a noose was tied to a sapling. The pig was then caught by the neck, the sapling springing up into position, and the pig being choked without a sound. There are many men still living, both Lau and Tolo men, who can tell tales of pig-stealing which was often carried out with fatal results to the owners, who were shot on resistance.

Until quite recent days there were hardly any coco-nut trees on the coast of North Mala, except on the island

Ngwalulu. Even to-day the coast-lands fringing the north-east lagoon are practically bare of coco-nuts, except at Fou Ii'a and Ngore fou. At Sa'a and Ulawa the coco-nut is a very important article of food, and boiled coco-nut cream is added to many dishes to give flavour and lightness. In North Mala the canarium nut is pounded and used for the same purpose, and the absence of the coco-nut is not so much felt in consequence. The gathering and smoking of canarium nuts holds an important place in the lives of all the peoples of North Mala. This fact probably helps to explain the indifference of the coastal peoples in the past with regard to planting coco-nuts. They could always get a supply of the canarium nuts, and the trees grew of themselves in the bush and did not require any attention.

On Ngwalulu Island conditions were easier for the growing of coco-nuts. There is no mangrove swamp there to contend with, the sandy soil suits coco-nuts, and the people live alongside their trees. There were a few odd trees here and there along the lagoon in old days, trees that were planted at landing-places where the tracks led to the gardens. Those that were planted at Fou Ii'a were destroyed by the Funaa Vou people during an attack on Sulu Vou. The present trees at Fou Ii'a were planted after the Christian occupation of the place. Lau people make fun of the Tolo men, who, when given a green coco-nut to drink, will share it out between seven or eight of them.

Coco-nut trees will not flourish away from the coastal lands, nor will they bear fruit unless they have light, and air, and room. In tropical lands in the Pacific nuts come floating along on the tide and are cast up on shore. If they are beyond the reach of the waves they will take root and grow, but there are two or three conditions attaching to their growth. They must be allowed to grow and not be pulled up by people desirous of eating them; the climate must be a suitable one with regard to its rainfall; the trees of the foreshore must not encroach on the coco-nuts. The coast line of Northern Australia seems to have been bare of coco-nut trees in the past, though unquestionably coco-nuts from New Guinea and the islands of Torres Straits must have been carried by tide and current, and thrown up on Australian beaches. That no coco-nuts grew on these beaches may have been due to the lack of regular, or of sufficient, rain to germinate them and to maintain their growth, and also to their being eaten by bands of wandering natives. In the north-east lagoon on Mala, after every blow, one sees people out in canoes gathering the coco-nuts which come floating in with the tide. These are taken home and eaten, and no one thinks of planting them.

Any coco-nut that finds its way on to the beaches of the lagoon is never allowed to grow; someone will pick it up and eat it. Coco-nuts that are cast ashore on Mala in places that are more or less inaccessible, *e.g.* Cape Zélée, may take root, but the forest trees come right down to high-tide levels, and the nuts seldom bear fruit in consequence. It may be said with confidence that wherever coco-nut trees grow and bear fruit it is owing to their being planted and cared for.

That the descendants of Leo, when they occupied their island homes did not plant coco-nuts on the shore, is due: (1) to the use of canarium nuts by them in cooking; (2) to the presence of mangrove swamps all along the coastal lands of the lagoon in which they settled; (3) to the fact that they were and are still primarily fishermen and not gardeners. That Ngwalulu Island has coco-nut trees on it at all is not due, in my opinion, to any systematic planting and care of them by the villagers in the beginning, but is merely a fortuitous thing due to the nuts having been washed ashore there in places where the conditions were suitable for growth.

The Lau people were all hill people at some time in the past. The founders of Fuaga and Funaa Vou were hill men, and Leo's ancestors came from Suu, as probably did the first man to settle on Ngwalulu. The Suu people belonged originally to the hills above the harbour, as their language shows. When they descended to the shore, and took up fishing as a living, they still kept their old custom of using canarium nuts in their cooking. If coco-nuts had been growing on the coastal lands in the days when they descended, it would have meant that there were already people settled on the coast, and from these people the use of coco-nut cream in the taro or yam puddings would have been learnt and would have become a regular practice, along with the planting and the care of coco-nuts. Even on Ngwalulu Island, where the coco-nuts are fairly numerous, the canarium nut is used in the cooking instead of the coco-nut. Customs such as these have their value in deciding the origins of the peoples.

The cultivated areca nut, *'ota*, has always been scarce in North Mala, and the wild variety, *ageru*, with a thick cluster of small red nuts, is the one generally eaten. This may be planted and cultivated, but it grows wild in the bush. Formerly the 'ota all belonged to the chiefs, and if a man was seen eating one he was accused of theft, and ran the risk of being killed. Canoe parties from Lau going to Sa'a brought back the big areca nuts, but the habits of the people were against the planting of these nuts, and they were merely eaten up. The 'ota is used in various religious ceremonies in Lau; it is given to the priest as an offering to the ghosts and is formally eaten by him; it is used as a symbol of peace, and the Aofia is decorated with an areca nut hung on his ear; it was also used in malevolent magic.

In the folk-lore stories there is a definite association of foreign immigrants with the introduction of the areca nut, *i.e.* the 'ota. One story tells of a man named Bora i Gao who came from Suuna rii, and whose son was named " 'Ota li gia," a word which may mean " Our 'Ota." An areca nut is said to have sprouted miraculously from the dead body of Bora i Gao. This nut was taken and planted, and then some war ghost stole its fruit and planted it for his own use. A further story connects this stolen nut with Sina Kwao, who planted it at the sacred place called Uumu fou in the hills among the Fata Leka people. The nut produced fruit soon after planting, when the tree was only a little way off the ground.

The fame of it spread abroad and the heroes gathered to see it. They were desirous of getting nuts from it to plant for their own eating. Those who succeeded in climbing it were to be allowed to take the nuts. Each time a hero climbed it the tree lengthened out and touched the ground at some far-distant place of Mala, and the man on it was taken away out of sight. Not one of them was able to touch the fruit. By and by there came a man out of the bush who was said to be possessed. He lived by himself in the bush in a " wild " condition, and ate of the things that he found there. At the suggestion of Sina Kwao this man climbed the 'ota and reached the nuts. He was enabled to do this owing to Sina Kwao having first struck the tree with his hand, and thus prevented it from lengthening out. In each case the climbing followed on the offer by the assembled heroes of a reward of shell-money and porpoise-teeth if the climber descended with the nuts. When the man descended with the bunch of nuts two of the heroes proceeded to take them by force, but Sina Kwao said they were his, and he would kill any objector. A further story on North Mala tells how the eight sons of a boy, who was born from an egg laid by an eagle, and who married a human wife, were reclaimed from savagery by eating areca nuts. The boys were wild, *i.e.* they did not live in houses in ordinary human fashion, but in a hole in the ground. One of them climbed an 'ota tree and threw down the nuts to his brothers in the hole. They smelt them, and examined them, and finally ate them, and found that they were very good. As a result of eating them the boys became normal.

Whatever may be thought to be the implication of these stories they seem to show that at some time or other in the past the areca nut proper was introduced into North Mala by immigrant chiefs, and given by them to the aborigines, who are represented as living wild in the bush. The eating of the nuts reduced the aborigines to a state of civilization.

Canarium nut trees are very plentiful on North Mala, and the season of the ripe nuts, August and September, is a time of rejoicing for both the Lau and the Tolo peoples. The nuts are of two sorts, the ngali and the adoa, the former being the larger of the two. The trees grow in places both near the beach and also on the lower foothills, but they will not grow on the high hills of the interior, and the people of the Morodo ridge have to buy their nuts. The Lau people own nut trees on the foothills where their gardens are; some of these are gifts from the original owners. The ownership of each tree is known, whether it is situated near a village or a garden, or whether it is in the thick bush. The weather is fine at the nut season, and the hill people camp out in shelters under the trees when they are picking nuts. Men may be hired to climb the trees, or the owner may do it himself. The trees are very high and the climbing is difficult work. Some of the Lau people also sleep out at the nutting time, and crack their nuts under the trees. Others carry the nuts to the shore, and then take them to the islands to crack. The nuts are cracked by holding them upright on a big nodule of flint, and then hitting them with a long worked flint stone, which has a broad surface. In time the under flint has a hole worn in it, and such flint stones may be found on old village sites. The hill people are very expert at cracking the nuts, and suspend big flint stones which are swung to and fro between two men. Each man holds a nut and his hammer ready, and cracks the nut as the stone swings his way. Four or five men will work thus at one time in a beu. The broken shells burn readily and are used for the partial cooking of the nuts. Big heaps of shells may be seen outside any Tolo village. The smoked nuts are pounded and used in cooking with pounded taros.

After the nuts are cracked they are stripped of their skins and put into a short section of bamboo, which is then held over the fire for a few minutes until it begins to steam. This process is called *bii ngali* (roasting the ngali). The bamboos are stowed away on an erection over the house-fire and are used as required. The nuts are apt to go mouldy and rancid. The nuts are traded by the Tolo people at the fish-markets, and the Lau people get their main supply in this way.

Fishing in the lagoon is the main occupation of the Lau men, and there are very few days in the year when the nets are not taken out. Bad weather may interfere now and again and prevent the use of the big seine-net in the open, but there are certain parts of the lagoon that are more or less secluded, and in these the hand-nets can be used to catch smaller fish. The fishing is carried on for two purposes: to supply the home people with flesh food, and to have the means of obtaining vegetable food by barter from the hill people at the markets, which are held on the various beaches at certain fixed times.

The nets are made of string that is obtained from the bark of a tree called *ngwai*, and the bark of the *Hibiscus tiliaceus* may be used also. The bark is stripped off and soaked in the sea in order to soften it. The outer covering is then removed by beating and the inner part put to dry in the sun. The pieces are then split down with the thumb and tied into a bundle ready for rolling into string. The rolling is done on the thigh, new pieces being added from time to time as required. Three strands are used at a time in the making of the string. A piece of bamboo forms the mesh guide, and the string is wound in a ball on a stick, as English boys wind kite-strings. The knot used in netting is the same as we ourselves use. The rolling of the fibre and the making of the net is usually done in a shed near the beu of the owner. The nets are the property of the chiefs, and each chief is responsible for the making of his own net. When netting, a man squats on his heels and does not sit on the ground. Nets may be made for sale to chiefs in other places who have ordered them. The wings of a net are not made of rolled string, but of strips of the dried bark, split to about half an inch in width. These wings are fastened to the body of the net by means of strings. Nets are not tanned, and the people have never realised that mangrove bark furnishes an excellent tan. The placing of a net in the beu serves as a means of preserving its fibres owing to the smoke of the fire which is always burning in a beu. A net may be two hundred yards in length, and twenty feet deep in the centre.

Nets are taken out in a big canoe when the tide is beginning to fall, the canoe being propelled by men standing in the bow and the stern and poling it along with sticks. This canoe must not be used by women. Other men, to the number of twenty or thirty, accompany the net, paddling or poling in their own canoes, and the whole company moves out together to the fishing ground. No man is allowed to come late lest, by doing so, he cause the presiding ghost, who grants the fish, to get in the rear of the net with disastrous consequences to the fishing. The ghost must precede. Low spring-tides furnish the best conditions for the use of the big nets, and at such times the lagoon is dotted all over with men and canoes, some fishing near the shore, others out in the deeper channels near the reef. The nets are set in those channels which are the last to dry as the tide runs out, and all such channels are known by name. The bottom of the net, which is weighted with big cowrie shells, is set firmly on the bottom, and men dive down to clear it of rocks and stones. Sections of light wood are used as floats for the net. The ends of the net are staked and two men stand by to watch. The pointers of the Southern Cross constellation are called the Watchers of the Net. Other men, furnished with branches and sticks, beat the shallows near and drive the fish towards the net, yelling and shouting the while. Odd fish inside the net are caught with hand-nets, which are carried for the purpose, and one sees arms waving and nets rising and falling all the time.

As the tide recedes the net is gradually drawn in and stowed on the big canoe, and then finally the centre is lifted bodily and its contents placed in the waiting canoe. Each canoe has a certain number of fish which its crew has caught with the hand-net, and these they keep for themselves. The main catch is distributed on return, the fish being laid in heaps, and each man gets a share, the chief's portion being the biggest. Some of the fish are cooked and eaten forthwith along with roasted taros, others are wrapped in leaves by the women and cooked ready for the market on the following day. The net is hung out to dry immediately after the distribution of the fish. While a net is new it must not be seen by women lest the men be afflicted with bodily swellings. Once it has lost its freshness women can see it without causing any ill effects to the men. Sulu Vou has three fishing-nets at the present time; Fou Ii'a and Ada Gege have one each.

The habits of the fish which enter or which live in the lagoon are well known to the Lau people, as are also the particular places in which certain fish are to be found. The times at which shoals of fish are due to arrive, the particular time of the month when certain fish are about, the name of every fish caught, and its value or otherwise as food, all these are matters of common knowledge. Some fish are poisonous and unfit for food, some have poisonous spines which cause severe pain if they pierce the skin and which may even cause death. Many of the fish are of a brilliant colouring, and the flat-sided fishes in particular are very wonderful to look at. The north-west Alite Mountain with its two peaks above Langalanga is named the Two Ala Saa, after a red fish of the same name which is much prized for eating. This fish is the summit of desire, just as the two peaks are the topmost peaks known to the Lau people.

During neap-tides the fishing is done mainly by means of the net called moge. This is a hand-net which is tied on two sticks, the longer being bent downwards and the shorter one being fixed at right angles to it and close to its nearer end. The slack of the net is held in the hand, and the net is released when a fish hits it. When fishing with the moge, twenty or thirty men, each with a pair of nets, surround a shoal of fish in the shallows and form a circle. Others with sticks drive the fish, and the circle gradually grows smaller as men fall out. The scene is one full of interest, with the men rushing here and there, making darts with their nets and shouting. The moge-nets have more or less sacredness attaching to them, being consecrated to women ghosts; this enables them to be kept in the women's quarters, and is a very convenient arrangement! Some small fish are caught at certain times of the month by the use of green branches of the coco-nut, which are split down the middle and tied together. The fish when enclosed are dipped out with a hand-net.

There is a smaller net, called abe, which requires two to four men to work it. Men may go out fishing with a leaf kite in the lagoon for the big garfish when the wind blows lightly from the north-east, or when it comes off the land. Individuals go out with a moge-net or with a spear looking for fish, and a man may track down a particular large fish which he has seen on the previous day in any spot. At low spring-tides men walk along the outer reef of the lagoon carrying a moge and with a live fish tied on a rod as a decoy. They stand over the channels on the sea side, and, putting in the decoy, they cry: "*Maafu*, *maafu lalakwa*, *kikiu araba*, *araba tabasia*," a form of words calculated to entice fish. At low spring-tides the shallower parts of the lagoon on the landward side are full of women and children, who are gathering shellfish or crabs. There is little line-fishing done amongst the Lau people, and English fish-hooks are not in great demand. A man's fishing-line has a kind of sacredness attaching to it, and when it is new prayers are said over it at the fafaraa altar in the beu. Dry coco-nut leaves are tied in bunches to serve as torches for the spearing of crayfish at night, or for use in catching a fish which is chopped with a scrub knife. These night expeditions are made in force, and it is a very pretty sight to see the points of light moving about in the lagoon.

Renton's account has the following remarks about fishing with seine-nets on the part of the Lau people: "They fish in comparatively shoal water—that is to say, in water two or three fathoms deep; and their manner is to bring the ends of the net gradually together, working the upper part from canoes, while the progress of the submerged portions is effected by men diving to the bottom, and moving the weights forward as required. The two ends are brought together, and the circle is gradually diminished till the fish are so crowded together that their capture is easy.

"Another method of fishing which they practise is more remarkable. The water being very clear, everything moving in it can be seen at great depths; and when moving along in their canoes, should a man see a big fish at the bottom, he does not hesitate to capture it with his hands. He begins by beating the surface of the water with a paddle or a pole, when the fish, alarmed at the percussion, generally takes refuge under a stone at the bottom. Sometimes the man does not wait to see the fish.

"If he perceives a stone or rock at the bottom which is likely to shelter a fish, he takes a small stick in his hand and dives to the bottom. Once there, he pokes under the rock with his stick. This done, he rises to the surface and smells the end of the stick. So keen is his sense of smell that he can at once tell whether the stick has touched a fish. If such proves to be the case, down he goes again, and, thrusting his hand, his arm, even half of his body under the rock, he gropes for the fish, which he seldom fails to seize and bring to the surface in his hands."

Renton states that the depths to which these divers will attain, and the length of time they will stay under water, are something startling. To use his own expression: "They will remain down in the water till one would feel sure they must be dead."

The deeper portions of the whole lagoon, from Ngwalulu Island to Cape Manu, south of Ataa Cove, are mapped out into fishing grounds which are the property of the chiefs of the islands near by. The shallower portions of the lagoon on the landward side are the property of the people of the island alongside, and these may be fished at any time and are not subject to a tabu. A fishing ground is called aalata (a setting of the net), or simply asi (sea). Sulu Vou has nine fishing grounds which extend from Urasi passage to Olo'ata passage. Kwao, the chief of Ada Gege, has two in the same area, and Salaimanu of Fou Ii'a owns the fishing ground to the left of the passage called Tae. Sulu Vou also owns two grounds that are not in its own waters: one at Fuaga, the other at Asi ni mwane. These were given by the sons of dead chiefs to Sulu Vou chiefs, who took pigs to the death feasts of the original owners. This practice of making a return to shore chiefs for pigs given at death-feasts has resulted in Sulu Vou receiving presents both of garden ground on the hills and of canarium almond trees as well.

Fera subua owns the rest of the fishing grounds in the bay where Leo's descendants live, and Liulana asi and Saua have no fishing grounds of their own. It would seem that on the foundation of Fera subua a distribution of the available fishing grounds was made, and that this was final. When I asked where the other islands did their fishing, it was said to me, with a laugh: "They steal a fishing ground." This "stealing" is winked at when those who use a fishing ground are people of the immediate neighbourhood and relatives, but strong objection is taken to the inclusion of strangers or of hill men in such a fishing-party. In old days the unwarrantable presence of strangers on a fishing ground would have provoked a fight. It is a question whether such a case ever occurred in pre-Government days, but Mr. Bell had to try a case where the people of one of the islands were accused by their neighbours of using waters not their own, and of bringing strangers on to it. The inclusion of strangers was felt to be an invasion of the rights of ancestral ghosts.

These fishing grounds are all named, and the boundaries of them are as clearly defined as if they were shore properties. Sulu Vou also owns several fishing grounds off the village site called Ngwalo, on Ngwalulu Island. These, presumably, belonged to Leo, and the ownership of them is vested now in Angasi kao, the head chief of Sulu Vou. The chief of any village who wishes to use a fishing ground not his own asks for permission to do so. If necessary he pays a fee for the ground.

The hill people poison fish in the streams with a preparation called uka. They also catch the buma fish in the shallows of the lagoon, using fences made of coco-nut branches for the purpose. There is no catching of flying-fish by the Lau people, and the catching of the palolo worm ceases at Uru and comes no farther north. The annelids are plentiful enough in the sea outside the reef at the time when they appear elsewhere, but the Lau people do not catch them for themselves, and there is no demand for them at the fish-markets held for the hill people.

The canoes of the Lau people vary in size from a little canoe only eight feet in length, and capable of holding one person only, to the big sea-going canoes that will accommodate thirty men. The generic name for canoe is ola, but each sort of canoe has its own name. A one-man canoe is *te lusu* (one thwart); the next size is *ola ni ngwane* (men's canoe), which holds from four to six: these are the two small sizes. The larger canoes are called *baru*, or *'ai 'isu*, or *soro*, and all hold at least twenty men. The soro has not got the bow and stern erections, called 'isu, and is only used in the lagoon. The baru and the 'ai 'isu both have the 'isu erections.

The larger canoes have a keel, with three planks on each side. The first plank is called *'ai ano* (bottom plank), the second *ogo rua*, the third *kame*. Wash-boards may be placed on top of the kame plank. For work in the lagoon the keel and the first plank may be in one. This is done to give strength, and to preserve the planking when the canoe hits stones. The large canoes have three or four ribs which are cut out of single pieces, the root of the strong ula tree being generally employed for the purpose. When a canoe is made for sale the price is in accordance with the number of ribs, one shell-money for each rib. Cleats are left on the planks and the ribs are tied on to these with lashing of the thornless cane. The strong creeper known as kwaarao is employed to sew the planks together. The seams are caulked with the putty-nut. Lau canoes are built in a very rough style and the motto of the people is " *ua na doo* " (any old thing). The planks are left thick and in the rough after adzing, and are not rubbed smooth with stones. It is said that the canoes of Manu eu, 'O'ona's village, behind Fou Ii'a, were originally caulked with mud, and that the mud had to be renewed after each time of using. One day a cripple staying in the house heard a bird singing. Its song was : " Caulk your canoes with seia. Rub seia on coral rocks. Put it on and leave it to dry." The cripple called out to the men of the place : " Hey, you men ! listen to what this bird is saying." The men listened and heard the bird sing its song again. They talked it over and decided to do as the bird said. This was the origin of the use of the putty-nut for caulking canoes. 'O'ona himself is said to have used a plank-built canoe for his sea-work and not a mere raft or a dug-out. His big canoe was named Suu maa (Destroy the eyes), a shark name.

Women in Lau are expert in the handling of canoes, and use them every day, either to go to the gardens on shore, or to convey the fish to the markets along the coast. They may use their own family canoes, or may embark in the large canoes which are called baru ni geni (women's baru). Some women have little canoes eight feet long which are their own. I saw a big woman with a tiny child embark in one of these little shells on a rough day and proceed to Sulu Vou. The child nestled behind its mother's back and took no notice whatever of the rough water. The mother paddled away unconcernedly, and whenever the canoe shipped water over the bows she kept its head to windward by a movement of the paddle, which she held in the left hand, while she baled out the water with the right hand, using a strip of pandanus leaf as a baler. Her progress was slow and she had to stop frequently to bale.

The Lau children know no fear of the sea, even the very smallest of them. Every afternoon children come across to the mainland in canoes to fetch their parents, who have been working in the gardens. A small girl of seven or eight years sits in the stern of the canoe, with the bows cocking up, and makes for the shore. The younger boys at times try their hands at standing up in the canoes and poling them. Should they lose their balance and fall over into the sea, all those who see them shriek with laughter. When men and women embark in the same canoe on the return from the shore to their island homes, it is always the women who do the paddling.

Sulu Vou has three regular market-places, and two clear days elapse between the markets held at any given place. The Tolo people bring down taros, bananas, kumaras, sugar-cane, canarium nuts, rolls of native tobacco, and leaves of the edible hibiscus; the shore people, on their part, bring fish, shellfish, mangrove flowers for eating, coco-nuts, lime for the betel-mixture. The majority of those who attend markets are women, but a few men go on both sides. These are men who just want to see their men friends and have a yarn, or who wish to exchange news, or they may come in order to arrange for some future exchange of products on a large scale. Trouble occurred at times at the markets between the men and women of the parties, and people were killed at the markets in later days when firearms became common. An inoffensive woman attending the markets might be made the victim at times of some faaabua, or her life was taken in revenge for the life of some man who had been killed elsewhere.

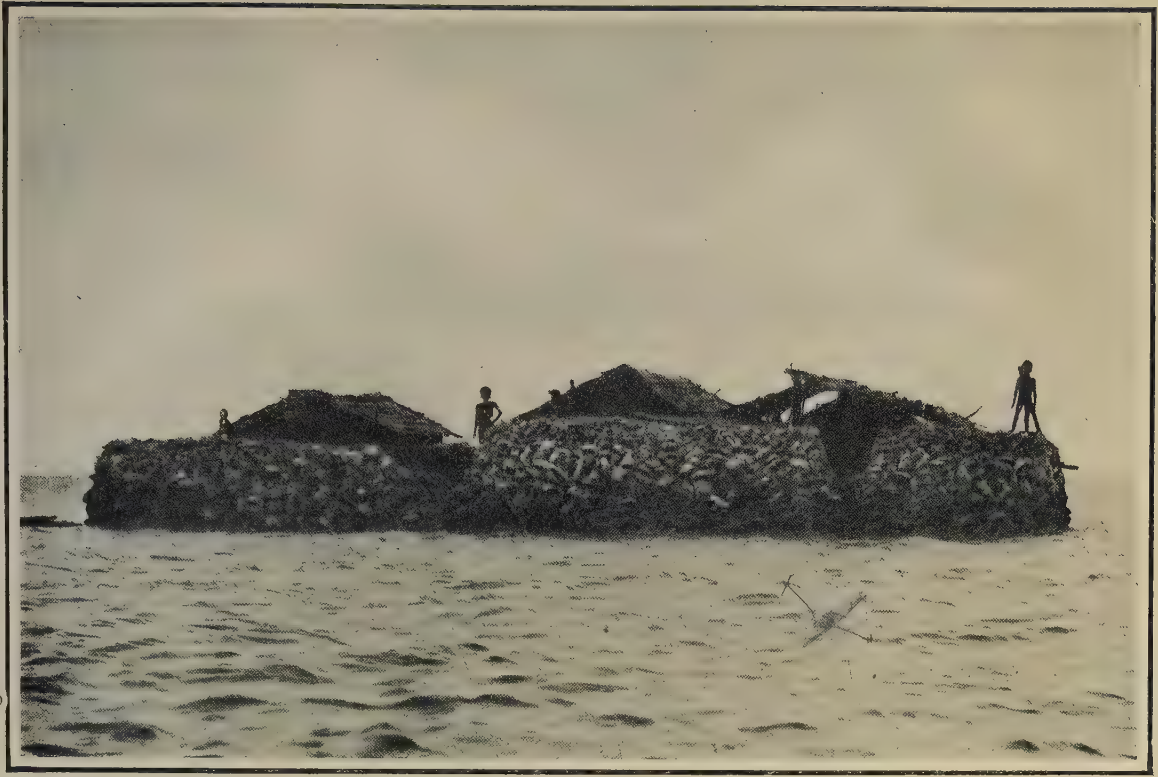
The bush people make money at the times of a maoma feast, when they supply taros and receive a fixed price, but they always get the worst of the bargain at a fish-market. On certain days the Lau people hold markets and exchange sticks of twist tobacco for taros at the rate of one stick for three big taros, and there is no provision of fish at all at these times. The usual rate of exchange at a market is ten large porpoise-teeth for a hundred taros, or five bii ngali, or ten coco-nuts, or ten sticks of tobacco, or one or two large fish, or five smaller fish. Three large or four or five smaller taros will purchase one medium-sized fish, or they may be exchanged for one stick of tobacco. Five sticks of tobacco are demanded for ten large fish. Ten middle-sized porpoise-teeth will purchase five fish, and twenty large taros are demanded for one large fish. Each bargain is on its own rate and method of exchange, and no one bargain bears any relation to another. The middle-sized porpoise-teeth are not often used in exchange for fish at markets, but ten of these would purchase a bundle of lime wrapped in leaves. Markets are held regularly all along the lagoon, and from Uru on the east coast to Langalanga on the west. South of these two places there are no markets on Big Mala.

The people of the lagoon begin to move away from their islands as soon as it is daylight, and by the time the sun is up there is a regular procession of canoes to the shore. Some of the people are going off to the markets, others are going to the gardens, or to get wood and water for their daily use, others go off to attend to their pigs on shore. In the evening they will return, and the smoke of cooking fires will rise up from the islands. In old days, before the introduction of iron tools there was a much earlier exit of those who were going to the gardens on the hills. The work took longer and the women, who mainly did the work, had to arrive earlier. During the day the only movement on the lagoon is on the part of the fishermen, or of the women who are in separation and who move slowly to the shore on their rafts. A big canoe from Suu may arrive in the evening bearing a party who have come to get a bride, and they swing along at a fast pace, hitting the paddles against the sides of the canoe and causing a flutter of excitement. The Langalanga men nowadays come as far as the lagoon in their fine canoes, exchanging new moneys for old, or they may arrive in cutters. When a feast is in progress, canoes and sailing-boats are constantly moving up and down the lagoon when the tide serves.

The Lau people have no account of the origin of earthquakes, nor do they associate them with the action of ghosts. Talongga, a chief of 'Ai Seni, claims to be able to produce earthquakes by incantations. I asked him for the incantation formula, but he said that it belonged to the ghosts, and he was not allowed to tell me. His father before him had made earthquakes. Lau people say that if an earthquake occurs in the morning it is a good sign, there will be full and plenty to eat; but if it occurs in the evening or at night it is a sign of an impending shortness of food. Owing to the nearness of the active volcano at Santa Cruz, earthquakes occur frequently on Mala, and all appear to come from the direction of Santa Cruz.

Eclipses of the moon are thought to be due to a ghost eating up the moon. The Ada Gege people are credited with the knowledge of an incantation to be said in order to restore the surface of the moon during an eclipse. Such incantations are said in a high-pitched tone of voice amounting to a cry. Thunder is known in Lau as "kururu," a word formed from the sound, and the term "thunderstruck" is used of the blasting of a thing by lightning. The lightning is called kwanga, and meteoric stones are known as "lightning's tooth." A gun, probably owing to the flash of the powder, is also called kwanga. The 'Ai Seni people have a story about a girl who picked up lightning at the mouth of the river Hahava and carried it home. She wrapped it in a kauve and put it away in the house. Someone took it down and opened the kauve, whereupon the lightning escaped and burnt everything up. This story may possibly refer to the introduction of fire. Marau Sound has a story about the introduction of fire. A man of Tawaihi Island in the Sound bought fire, *i.e.* a fire-stick, on south-east Guadalcanal. He used it for some days, and then, in order to keep it from his neighbours and to prevent their getting it, he wrapped it up in dry coco-nut leaves and hid it when he went fishing. The big canoe-house in which he lived was burnt down in his absence, and all the neighbours secured fire-sticks for themselves. Storms are not associated in Lau with the action of ghosts; whenever they occur they are treated as being things to be expected and as the excessive result of the wind's power.

Kwaisulia, and two men of Sulu Vou, figured in a case of kidnapping in 1894. A Queensland Labour vessel, the *William Manson*, anchored at Urasi passage in the reef and Kwaisulia went aboard. Recruits were hard to obtain, and, according to what Gwaliasi told me, an agreement was entered into between Kwaisulia and the captain of the ship whereby men were to be procured by force, and Kwaisulia was to be paid with a boat. The ship's boats went ashore at the mouth of the river Hahava, where a market was in progress. Kwaisulia, with Gwaliasi and another man, mingled with the hill men who were at the market, and at a given signal they threw their arms round three men and carried them off to the boats. The signal was the English



AN ISLAND IN PROCESS OF BUILDING

THE STONES FORMING THE ARTIFICIAL ISLANDS ARE GATHERED FROM THE BED OF THE LAGOON, AND ARE TOWED ON RAFTS TO THE CHOSEN SITE. RAMPS FOR LANDING PLACES ARE LEFT IN THE OUTER WALLS.

word "ready," which was chosen by Kwaisulia in order that the hill men might not know what the intention was.

Two of the kidnapped men reached Queensland on the ship, but a third who refused to "sign on" was put ashore a day or two later. He was the son of a powerful chief, and Kwaisulia evidently feared reprisals. In addition, two hill women were forcibly taken from Ada Gege, and two women also from Sulu Vou. In the latter case one woman took refuge in the bisi, and the services of women were employed to get her out, since the men would not enter the bisi. Other hill people were forced to recruit by threats made by a fighting-man who received payment for his action from Kwaisulia.

On the arrival of the ship in Queensland, information was given by a native on board, and the white men concerned were put on their trial. The verdict at the trial was, "Not guilty," but all concerned were prohibited from further recruiting, and the ship was struck off the list of recruiting vessels. The report on the case said that there had been a "miscarriage of justice." The kidnapped people were sent home again. The story, as told me by Gwaliasi, agreed in all its particulars with the evidence given by the natives at the trial.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

Gardens: House Building

LAND in the vicinity of the beach is called *hara.* Flat sandy land just above the beach is called *nuu.* Breadfruit and certain other fruit trees grow there. The lower foothills are known as *fafo asi* (above the sea), and it is there that the people have their taro gardens. Garden ground, as distinct from uncleared forest, is called *gano*; *gano alu* is old garden ground that is not yet ready for planting, ground that has been previously in garden, and has not yet been rested sufficiently; *ali siu* is last year's garden ground, ground where a person "gets a bath," *siu*, from the branches of the trees which have grown up since the garden was abandoned. The Lau chiefs own garden ground on the foothills above the lagoon. Some of the grounds represent primitive forest that Lau men have cleared in the past, some are grounds that have been acquired through marriage with chiefs' daughters. Some have been received by act of gift on the part of the hill chiefs. Fruit trees planted on any site become the property of the planter and of his children after him. The founding of a village on a site does not carry with it the right to cut down fruit trees growing on it that belong to some person who is non-resident there.

Leaving out the coastal strips, land is divided into two parts, garden ground, which has but the one name throughout Mala, viz. *gano*, *ano*, and uncleared forest land, which is called *kwaena* in North Mala, *wäpu* in Little Mala. Garden ground is a tract of country which has been cleared and planted at some time in the past, though after the one season of planting it is allowed to go fallow again, and quickly becomes covered with a growth of light timber. When it is ready for planting it will be cleared afresh. The kwaena or wäpu is virgin forest, land which has never been cleared. As a rule this forest land is at a little distance from human habitations, and all the land near a given settlement on the hills is garden ground. There has been very little clearing of virgin forest land on Mala during the last two generations, even though the provision of axes would have rendered such clearing an easy matter ; the people have been content merely to work their various garden grounds as they became ready for use. That there should be such a large amount of garden ground available is evidence of a much larger population in the past. All the existing garden ground to-day has been won from a condition of primitive forest by the labours of the past generations. The rights of the various families among the hill people to-day with regard to garden ground can only be founded on the fact that their ancestors at some time in the past cleared pieces of forest which thus became garden ground.

In a general way it may be said that all garden ground has an owner and that forest land has no owner. Garden ground on Mala is within a reasonable distance of human habitations, and its character is always different from that of uncleared forest. The trees are smaller, the undergrowth is not nearly so dense, and a practised eye can see at once a difference between it and land that has never been cleared. The ownership of each piece of garden ground is known to all who live in the neighbourhood, and the boundaries will be pointed out. Each group of inter-related families has its particular garden ground, and the tribe is not a unit for the holding of land. Thus while, *e.g.* the 'Ai Seni people live in a certain more or less defined area and talk alike, their land is held by families and not by the tribe as a whole. No man on Mala can claim to own forest land in the same way that he owns garden ground. But if a man in any place has the heart to begin felling the trees in a piece of forest land, the other people in the neighbourhood say, "Good for him," and cease from him.

No one would be allowed to clear the forest in any place where the fishing rights of a people would be involved, or where his clearing would prevent access to the sea; nor would any stranger be allowed to clear forest land which was near to the garden ground of the local people. On Mala, unless a people is driven out of its original home by war or calamity, and migrates to a place where there is a lack of cultivated land, and thus is forced to begin work on the forest land, the people do not seem to have had any desire to begin villages or habitations, or to clear forest land, in a new place away from everybody else.

In the case of the Tolo peoples from the Mara Masike channel, and from the neighbourhood of Uhu, who are now settled at Ariel harbour, Su'u laha, Oroha, Naoni, on the west coast of Little Mala, the settlement was made prior to the establishment of the Pwaloto chiefs at Sa'a. The original owners of the first two places lived on the hills some distance inland, and the owners of the last two places were the Sa'a people. Had the chieftainship been strongly established at Sa'a when the Tolo people began to cultivitate Oroha and Naoni, which are close to Sa'a, their right to do so would have been disputed. If a hill people on Mala is in the habit of descending to the beach to fish (the neighbouring coast being uninhabited), their right to the fishing ground is uncontested, and they would strongly resent any strangers settling there and clearing the land.

The Lau people who settled in the north-east lagoon on Mala made homes for themselves in the sea, and by intermarriage with what people were living on the foothills they came into possession of garden ground on the hills, and they proceeded also to clear the forest land. That no one hindered them was due to the fact that they were invited to come and settle in order to provide fish for a hill people. The hill peoples of the neighbourhood still descend to the beach and fish on their own account in the places where their ancestors were accustomed to fish, *e.g.* at the mouth of the river

Hahava in the lagoon. Some of the Bae Guu people have a landing-place and a canoe, and make occasional trips in the lagoon.

When the Christian natives returned from Queensland in 1907, many of them settled near the shore round the coast of North Mala, and proceeded to clear and work the virgin forest. They had a supply of axes, and they tackled the heavy work with courage and with much enthusiasm. But in so settling they were in all cases settling on land which their fathers might conceivably have occupied, for their original homes were on the hills above, and the harbour, or the river mouth, or the landing-place near the settlement, was the traditional site for their descent from the hills, their access to the sea, and their fishing grounds. In order to regularize their position, many of the new villages settled thus in virgin country brought down one of their chiefs from the hills to live with them, thus giving themselves a status.

Only the men in Lau are allowed to make the holes for planting the yams ; the women carry the yam sets, which are cut up by the elders in the villages, and stand outside the fence of the garden. The men then take them and proceed to the planting. The women, however, clear up the ground preparatory to planting, and help to burn the trees after the men have chopped them. The fence round the garden is built by the men. In the centre of both yam and taro gardens there is a square, made of logs set in the ground, and the first yams, and the first taros also for a taro garden made for a forthcoming feast, are planted in this square. These yams and taros are the first ones to be dug when the garden is ready.

The tubers that come out of the square are given to the priest in the village. If the priest is not available, the first-dug yams are put alongside the altar in the back of the beu, and when they sprout anyone may cut them up for planting in his garden. The owner of the garden himself does the planting in the sacred square. When the yam garden is fully planted and the workers have left it, the owner stays behind, and then, standing in the square, he says prayers and incantations to his ancestral ghosts. On returning at any future time, should the garden not be planted in the one day, he enters the garden first and prays, then any who may be with him are free to enter. On the day of the planting the owner breaks off twigs of certain trees as he is leaving for home, and throws them down with a prayer. This is to make things common and ordinary again. The workers have all been fasting from early morning, and no food must be eaten till all eat together at the end of the day, nor must any one eat the betel-mixture. On the way home men may eat the betel-mixture if they wish, and on arrival at the village all of them eat together. The planting season, October, is called in the lunar calendar *gwou baita* (swollen-head), a reference to the feeling of swelling in the head occasioned by the long fast.

Where the yams of a maoma garden begin to sprout, ten men of the family that is giving the feast are confined to the chief's beu, and are not allowed to visit their families till such time as the digging takes place. These men are known as "yam stakes," or "come out subsequently." The owner of the garden brings a leaf of the withering yam vine to the priest as a sign that the harvest is nearly ripe; then he digs a yam from the sacred square and gives it to the priest, and after this the harvest may be dug and all the men of the beu may eat of the new yams. On each of these three occasions the priest says prayers: when he receives the yam leaf, when a new yam is offered to him, at the eating of the first-fruits. He attends the planting of a yam or taro garden intended for a feast, and says prayers and incantations over the sets and plants which are put in the sacred square.

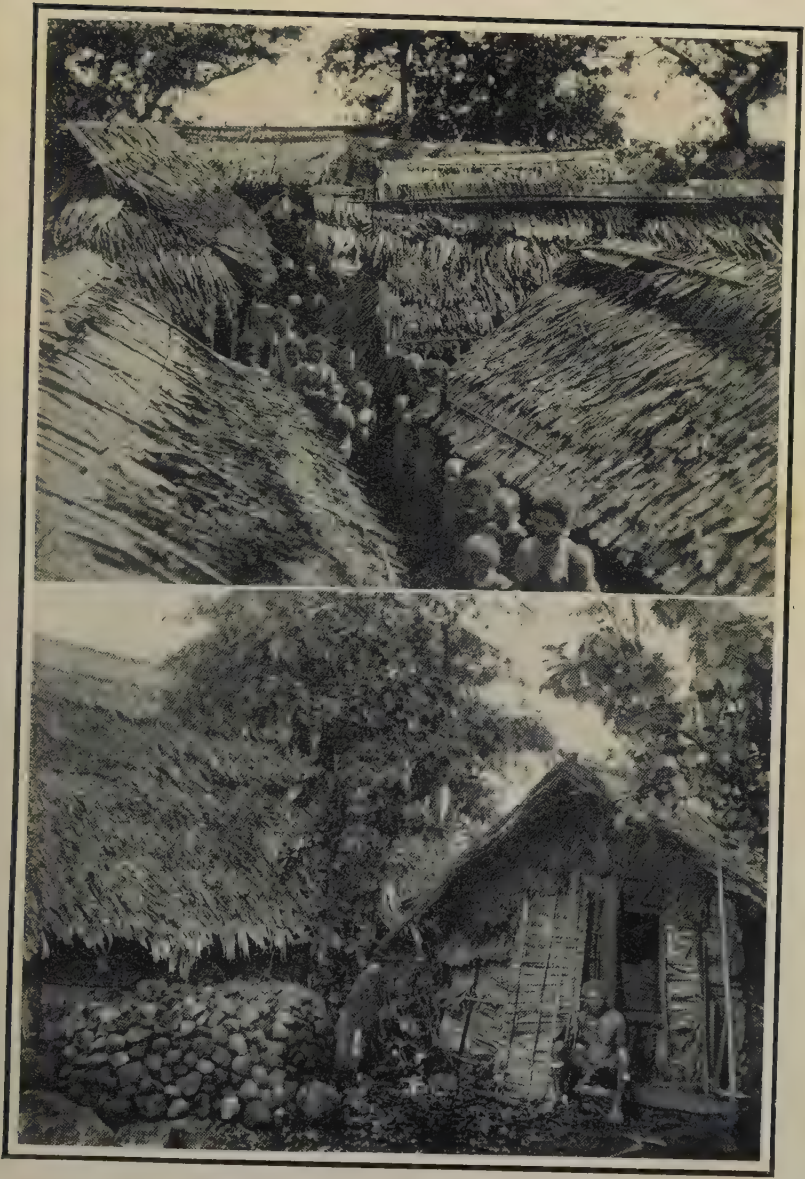
A big taro garden intended for a maoma feast is planted by men and not by women. The men tend this garden, pulling the taros for eating and replanting the tops. Women may plant taros in the ordinary gardens which are dedicated to women ghosts. There is no particular taro in Lau which is tabu to women as there is in Tolo. Certain taro are called women's taro in particular, and these may be cooked and eaten by the women on arrival in the garden should they feel hungry. In old days the Lau women reached the taro gardens very early in the morning, and were hungry. Nowadays they go much later, and one sees them pass in the mornings carrying bundles of taro tops for planting from which the tubers have been cut off, and towards the afternoon they return with fresh taro, or with loads of firewood, or bundles of short bamboo filled with water. As a rule the women go alone nowadays to the taro gardens, but before the pacification of Mala they were accompanied by men armed with rifles. The priests share in the work of clearing the ground, and I noticed that Buga frequently accompanied his wife.

The maoma gardens are necessarily big, and the whole people of an island will work at them. The private gardens in the past were large also, and many men worked a garden in common. This was due partly to the Melanesian love for working in company, and also it served as a protection against raids by the hill people. If a man were found working alone he might be shot without fear of immediate reprisals. To-day, with the pacification of Mala, men are more inclined to work separately for themselves, and the ordinary gardens are smaller in consequence. Owing to the restrictions on pig keeping, and to the consequent decrease in the number of pigs owned by Tolo people that wander about in the hills, sweet potatoes are freely planted by the Lau people on the coastal lands, and fences are dispensed with.

The old law still holds, however, that if a pig breaks into an enclosed garden it must be redeemed with money. Such pigs are very bold and they frequent the neighbourhood of a garden, and thus are easily identified even if they have succeeded in making their escape after breaking into the garden. If the reputed owner disclaims ownership after due notice the pig may be killed on sight. Sulu Vou people bought a bullock from a plantation on Guadalcanal and let it loose on the mainland. It was intended for a forthcoming feast. The bullock roamed the country, broke into numerous gardens, and became so fat that when it was killed the report was that there never was such a bullock! It was eaten along with many bags of rice, and the owners of the raided gardens received compensation in that way.

The elders of Sulu Vou, many of whom are between sixty and seventy years of age, say that they have never worked with stone tools. Their first acquaintance with iron tools dates from the coming of the Queensland ship, *The Bobtail Nag*, that took Renton away. Plane blades and axes and knives were distributed to the Sulu Vou people as an incentive to let Renton go, and as a reward for taking care of him. The plane blades were fixed to handles and used as adzes, and all the work on canoes that had been done previously with stone tools was now done with iron ones. Polished stone implements seem never to have been used by the Lau people, nor by the hill people of the north end of Big Mala. There is no trace of them to-day, and none have ever been offered to white men as articles of trade. Report says that they were present among the Kwara 'Ae and Fata Leka people. The volcanic stone out of which they are made does not occur on Mala, and those in use on Little Mala were imported from San Cristoval or from Marau Sound. If they occurred among the Kwara 'Ae people they probably found their way there from Langalanga, having come from Florida or Guadalcanal. I heard of one polished stone axe which was in the possession of a Tolo man, and which he carried to a feast. It had been fastened to a handle and was considered as sacred, nobody being allowed to touch it. It was evidently a treasure, and this points to the rarity of such things in the neighbourhood.

All the Lau tools in the past were made of flint or clam-shell or of meteoric stone. Flint occurs freely on North Mala,



FERA SUBUA ISLAND

THE HOUSES IN THESE ARTIFICIAL ISLANDS ARE CLUSTERED CLOSE TOGETHER ; FORMERLY PIGS MIGHT BE ENCOUNTERED IN THE NARROW ALLEY WAYS. THE SURFACE OF THE ISLANDS IS OF ROUGH STONES. IN THE LOWER PICTURE THE ALTER FOR FIRST-FRUITS MAY BE SEEN.

both red and black, but the red flint was the one that was flaked to make adzes and light axes and knives. The black flint gapped too easily and was not used; only a few men knew how to flake flints properly for use, and they made money at it. Flaked flints may be found to-day on all old sites of clearings. Meteorite stones were dug up, and pieces of them were used as axes. Heavy pieces of these stones were fitted to a V-shaped handle and were used as weapons. They were called *tofu* (pecker), the name given to the egret, and were carried on the shoulder with the stone part resting on the back. Flints are used for cracking the canarium nuts, and the flint hammers used for this purpose are heirlooms. At Marau Sound I heard a story of a Muumuu, one of the traditional "wild" men who are called by that name, who was armed with eight spears called *tohu* (choppers), which were tipped with flint. He fought with two men who belonged to Rere, a coastal village, and was killed by one of them. In the Spanish account of their fight with Mala men near Cape Zélée in 1568 they record the fact that the natives were armed with spears which were tipped with flint.

Before the introduction of iron tools much less food was grown by the Lau people, and there were times when the people had to go hungry. There were no coco-nuts about to act as a stand-by, and in consequence the people ate of many things that grew wild in the bush; wild yams and many kinds of roots were dug and eaten. There is no edible wild taro, but one kind of taro which grows near the river Hahava has leaves which are edible; another has a root above ground, and is planted near the villages. Also the feasts weighed heavily on the people, and much of their time was taken up with working at the maoma gardens. The consequence was that a good deal of stealing of food took place in old days. Even to-day there are certain families whose gardens are of very small size, and who are more than suspected of helping themselves to things from other people's gardens. The practice of camping out during the nutting season is undoubtedly conducive to the stealing of food. At such times people are often a long way from their gardens, they take no supplies of food with them, and the temptation is very strong to help themselves to what food there may be in the neighbourhood.

Sulu Vou to-day has tiny streets between its rows of houses, for it was rebuilt "English fashion" after the fire; and Gwaliasi, who has assumed the responsibility for the place as being the one chief who knows most English, wishes his village to look as well as it can. The other islands are more or less of a jumble, houses all here and there, with no order in their lay-out. There is no division between most of the private houses, and the biggest of them is only a tiny hut, dark and smoky, with no opening but the little low doorway, and with no light coming through the sago-palm sides. The people sleep on the floor with only a kauve between them and the earth or stones of the island. The various beus stand by themselves and are separated from their neighbours. They have more head room and are altogether wider and bigger than the private houses, and light comes through the sides which are built of saplings or of bamboos laid one on top of the other.

The beu has two portions separated by a partition, and the skulls and the fafaraa altar are in the rear portion, and bodies are buried there in the ground. A new beu is dedicated by the priest placing green-leafed dracænas over the front and rear of the main ridge-pole, and also over the doorway. The beus are built with more care as to the materials than are the private houses. Bamboos are scarce and hard to get, and saplings are used for rafters instead. Of late years sago-palms have been planted near Fou Ii'a, and the leaves of these are available for roofing and for the sides of the houses. The constant smoke preserves the thatch, and this in a measure compensates for the small amount of leaves used in thatching. Round the sides of the island, and often with their supports set in the sea itself, are the bachelors' quarters, many of them to-day being built in the Fijian style. Other smaller buildings on the edge of the island are storehouses for yams.

In Renton's time a high fence of logs divided Sulu Vou into two unequal portions, the smaller of which was reserved for the men. The married quarters were on the other side, and the men might resort thither, but no woman might cross the fence and go into the men's quarters. Renton stated that should any woman pass the barrier she would be killed. This held of all the islands.

Renton's account contains one or two interesting details about the gardens of the Lau people in his day. He and Kabau, the Sulu Vou chief who was his protector, "had a good patch of land cleared and planted with yams and taros. The mode of cultivating is to clear away the underbush and heap it up round the boles of the larger trees, after which it is set on fire and the tree thoroughly scorched. The natives then climb up and lop off the branches, so as to admit the sun and air to the clearing, which they roughly fence in. The soil is extremely rich, and all that has to be done in planting taro is to drill holes with a wooden crowbar in the earth, and insert a plant which, without further trouble, develops the desired root."

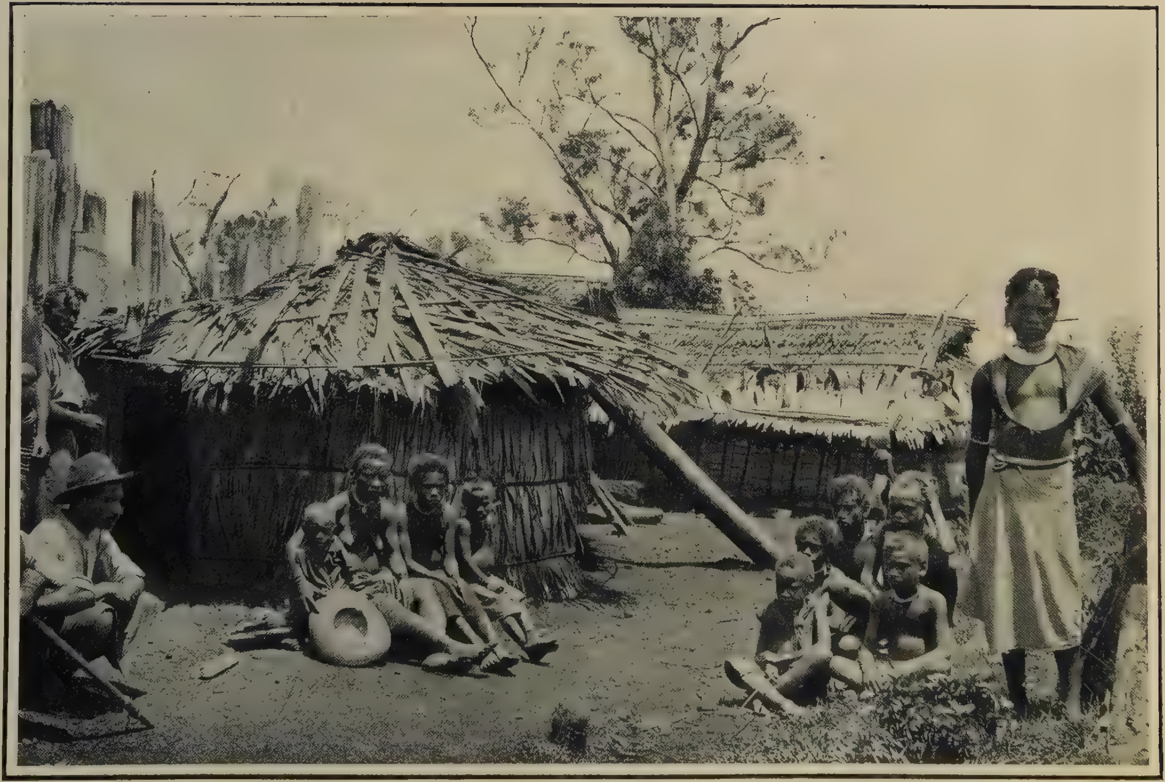
CHAPTER SIXTEEN

Miscellaneous

THE money in use among the Lau people is of two sorts, shell-money and porpoise-teeth. The shell-money is called malefo or bata, the latter being the name used for shell-money at Langalanga, where it is made. The shell used is a *spondylus*, which is obtained locally at Langalanga, or is procured from the Mara Masike Strait or from Florida. The shell is attached to rocks in the sea-way and is dived for. The crews of Langalanga canoes, proceeding to other places where the shell occurs, use the opportunity to dive and provide themselves with shell for use later. The making of the money is women's work, and the Langalanga men do the garden-work which in other places falls to the lot of the women. The same class of shell-money is common to North Mala, Florida, Ysabel, and Guadalcanal, and traders buy the North Mala money to purchase coco-nuts with or copra on Florida. The money is of a bright red colour, and the discs which compose it are big and thick compared with those in use in Little Mala and Ulawa. The money forming the bride-price in Lau weighs very heavy, and is as much as a person can carry.

Each part of Mala fancies its own kind of shell-money, and affects to despise the money used in the other parts. White shell-discs are interspersed at regular intervals between the red discs in the Lau money, and the ends of the strings which compose the moneys are finished off with discs of a dark-grey colour, made from the shell of a big mussel called tafulu.

No shell-money is less than a fathom long; some may be ten feet in length, and moneys intended for storage are re-strung and are made several fathoms long. The moneys



PALISADE.

ERECTED BY CHRISTIANS AT NGORE FOU AS A PROTECTION AGAINST ATTACK BY THE HEATHEN. THE HILL PEOPLE OF MALA IN OLD DAYS WERE ACCUSTOMED TO PROTECT THEIR VILLAGES IN THIS WAY.

are wrapped up in bark cloth and kept in bags. All moneys need re-stringing from time to time, owing to the dampness of the climate, and this work is done by the local women.

To-day, in Lau, moneys with large shell-discs are the fashion, but formerly the discs were smaller, and a chief of the last generation is credited with having caused the change. In every case it is the local people, and not the Langalanga people who set the fashion and who say what they want. Orders are given for so many shell-moneys of such-and-such a size, and these are brought when finished. To-day there is much greater freedom of movement among the peoples, owing to the pacification of the islands, and the various likes and dislikes as to the moneys can be more easily satisfied; but there is no doubt that in former days the wishes of a people in this respect were conveyed to the makers at Langalanga, and that the fashions were evolved locally, and were not the doing of the makers of the money.

New moneys are exchanged now for old at the rate of one new for two old, and the old ones are taken away and cleaned by being rubbed afresh on stones. They are then restrung and sent out again. The new moneys that I saw being exchanged by Langalanga men for old were of shorter lengths than those which they received. The Lau people sell pigs to the Langalanga traders for new moneys. Quarrels occur frequently between families when these money transactions are being carried on. The Faateia people make a local money out of a grey shell called malakwai. The discs are small and of a very delicate colour.

The strings composing the moneys are known as *'ae i malefo*, and a money of ten strings is *taa fuli 'ae* (one ten unit), or *taa fuli abala* (one ten fathom); a nine-stringed money is *siqa 'ae*, a five-stringed is *lima 'ae*. There may also be moneys with six and seven and eight strings each. The moneys, as supplied by the makers, consist of ten strings, and those containing fewer strings are made up locally after delivery. The Lau people do not use single strings or short lengths of money for any purpose. The discs which compose the money are called *miga*, and the phrase used of them is *mige doo* (disc of thing), or *mige malefo* (disc of money). Fines paid for offences against the ghosts, or offerings to the ghosts, may consist of one or two single discs.

Units of shell-moneys of ten strings each, along with porpoise-teeth, form both the bride-price and the blood-money. Canoes are purchased with shell-money; taros for a maoma feast may be paid for in shell-money at the rate of one big money for thirteen hundred taro, and with two hundred large porpoise-teeth in addition to clinch the bargain.

The porpoise-teeth which form the currency are the large-sized ones. These, when strung in tens, are called *taa fuli lifo* (one ten teeth). They are also made up in hundreds and in thousands. The middle-sized teeth are used in the bride-price and for blood-money, but ten of them may be paid for a day's work.

Two shell-moneys of ten strings each may be exchanged for one hundred large porpoise-teeth, and one shell-money equally for fifty. One shell-money is exchanged for two hundred medium-sized porpoise-teeth, or the same number of small ones. Traders pay one pound sterling for a hundred medium-sized teeth, and ten shillings for a single string of shell-money a fathom long.

Elderly people, acting out of malice, will hide porpoise-teeth, either burying them in the house or else placing them in the bae. In the latter case they could never be retrieved. It is mainly childless people who act thus, but the practice is not confined to them. The flint stones used in cracking nuts, which are heirlooms, may also be hidden in this way.

Young men, returning home after some years of work for white people, bring two boxes with them, and the contents of one of the boxes are shared with their near relatives. The cash they bring with them is also shared out in the same way, five shillings to one relative, ten to another, a pound to a third, according to their importance. The young man acts thus for two reasons: first, because it is a time immemorial custom among the people that any man who has been away on a visit to a place overseas shall share out with his relatives whatever he brings back with him, and secondly because he has the bride-price in view. English money and English goods do not furnish the bride-price, and should a returned man fail to make a distribution of goods or money or both on return, his relatives will say to him: " All right! buy a bride with knives and cloth." This compulsory sharing does not apply in the case of chiefs, and they may keep what they have earned.

A proverbial saying in Lau is called tarifulaa. These are current sayings, and they form a regular part of the speech of the people. They may represent the accumulated wisdom of the past, or they may be jocular sayings founded on mistakes made in speech. Thus, in my own case, I used the phrase *doo igera* (their thing), *i.e.* it's their look-out! the proper phrase being *doo 'ani gera* (thing for them). The people at once took it up and said it was my tarifulaa, and they would use it in remembrance of me.

When men are tackling something which is too difficult for them and is beyond their powers, they say: " My fighting powers are but small, if they were great I would kill you to-day." This is taken out of the story of the frog and the snake recorded below. At feast-times the chiefs and the important people are given the biggest portions, and this is crystallized in the saying: " A big turtle has a big appetite, a little turtle has a little appetite." This is said with a laugh when a distribution of things is being made.

The long-handled tomahawks (kilakila) used in fighting in Little Mala were very much prized by the Lau people, and if a man were asked to give up something which he wanted very much for himself, he would say: " Whoever gave back a southern kilakila ? " The jocular saying of the fighting-party that was out on the war-path: " He that is tired of pig can eat man, he that is tired of man can eat pig," comes under the heading of tarifulaa. Those who used it were not likely to commit cannibalism; they were merely having a joke, and possibly the particular saying had been coined by some one in the past. After the Koio murders all sorts of reports were circulated among the peoples; and one hardly knew what to believe. Conflicting accounts are the usual thing in these cases, as is shown by the proverbial saying told me on this occasion: "There are always ten stories about a fight; the tenth and last is the one to believe." Some of these sayings are couched in the language of similitude, as *e.g.* when people want to kill a certain man, anyone who wishes to save him will liken him to the poisonous toad-fish. The inference is that just as a man would die who ate a toad-fish, so would the killer of the man be killed himself by the victim's would-be preserver.

There are parabolic sayings which are used in Lau. These bear the name *asi* (*toosi*) *omele ngwane* (throw out men's shouts), as if the saying of them produced a shout among the hearers. The only one given to me had to do with death by violence, and it is probable that many of them were concerned with such subjects. If a chief were to say: "A coco-nut leaf fell down in the broad daylight," it would be interpreted to mean that he desired the death of some given person about whom there had been a discussion. Those who heard the words would set about compassing the man's death.

The word *alafuu* (to compare), is used to describe the following customs which belong to the category of parabolic sayings. If two brothers quarrel, one may say to the other: "When the earth covers my face I will see you again." The man is said herein to have likened himself to earth. As a result of such a saying the other man departs and goes to live in another place. A man who is brought forcibly to be killed after the death of a chief may be saved by the intervention of that chief's son who likens him to the dead man, saying: "He is my father." The intended victim is given the dead man's name and thus replaces him, as it were. A man may alafuu thus of his daughter. If she is a good worker and willing, he likens her to his two hands. She and he are spoken of as *si ngengea* (two inseparable objects), like the shark and pilot-fish. Any daughter about whom such a comparison was made would remain a permanent spinster in her father's house.

There are formal salutations which are used in Lau of personages, of things, and of places. The chief and his wife, the sun and the moon, the food-plants, certain fish, pigs, clubs, and bows, the artificial islands, capes and bays, rivers, the islands lying near, all these have fixed salutations. The salutations may be used during speeches or conversation at feast times, or when visiting or seeing the particular places. The matter of the salutations is drawn from the peculiarities of a place or thing, from the circumstances connected with it, or from the use to which it is put, from physical characteristics, or from official duties or privileges. The recital of these salutations is distinctly provocative of good humour and good fellowship. The salutations are called *sililaa*, and to use them is *sili*, or *rafe*, or *tango*.

SALUTATION OF A CHIEF:

Ramo diingana	Champion in the bows
Toli 'ana 'aena	Give portions to his foot
Tafui fena igi	Rattle and strike the lime-box

The chief's seat is in the bows of the overseas canoe, the place of danger when a landing is being made at a strange village. At feast times a chief rattles his lime-stick in the lime-box and thrusting out his foot when the distribution of food is being made, says in a jocular way: "Give this person his share." Of the chief's wife the following salutation is used:

Ni baita lobongia	She who is big with hanging [breasts]
Ni susu karui niu	She with breasts like young coco-nuts
Ni agalo ata fera	She who is a ghost of another island

She who is chosen as wife for a chief's eldest son is a full-grown woman, and not an undeveloped girl. Since she usually belongs to a different island, and is not a local girl belonging to her husband's village, her ghost at her death is not one that may be invoked.

Salutations of Food-Plants. The coco-nut:

Niu sibaa kelakela	Coco-nut husked turning it round
Fou 'angi i latana	A stone makes a noise on its skull

A man who is husking a coco-nut turns it round in his hand after each blow on the sharpened stake which is used to husk it with. When he has pulled the loosened husk off with his hand, he takes a stone and cracks the nut open.

The areca nut:

Fua ni loge laua	Nut grabbed and snatched away
Maa ni kobu 'ana uta	Fattened by the rain
Maa ni rara 'ana hato	Warmed by the sun
Teeteena e maomala	Its skins mark a feast
Suluna omeala	Its juice produces warriors

Areca nuts are scarce in Lau, and at a feast-time when a distribution is made of them along with the food each man of the commoners grabs what he can of them and makes off.

The taro:

Alo ni lisia kelasia	Taro turned round and cut off
Ava kwai rokasia	Make incision and cut it across
Fioa ka nge'e	When peeled it utters a cry
Boru nae Kwai lava	Its source is at Kwai lava

When preparing taros for food the tops are cut off with a black-lip pearl shell, the operation involving the turning round of the plant. The flesh is close and contains a great amount of starchy matter; this causes a sound which is like a squeal when the tuber is peeled with the shell. The last line of the salutation indicates the provenance of the taro, a district called Kwai lava (Big river), in the Faarea district of Big Mala on the west coast.

The banana:

Uluulu i bou	The crest of leaves of the banana
Bou anoasa	Banana of the ghosts
Sa amana haasina isua mai	Its father and brother grew wild
I Tabu 'ana lua	At Tabu 'ana lua
'Aba lobolobo	Leaves hanging down
'Aba lobolobo i ano	Leaves hanging to the ground
'A'aba sio, 'aba tavitavi	Leaves withering, leaves growing fewer
Riki maelana	Seeing its death
Fungu usia mangona	Bearing to the detriment of its life

The meaning of the second line: "Banana of the ghosts," refers to its introduction by people dead and gone. Since the place mentioned in the third line, Tabu 'ana lua (Where the tide cannot reach), is a village in Gao, Ysabel Island, the inference is that the banana came from there to North Mala. The last four lines of the salutation indicate a considerable power of observation and of poetic feeling on the part of the maker of the salutation. Judging by the use of the personal article *sa* in line three, the salutation is of Tolo origin.

Pig:

Ngora bulu taova	Black snout in the porch
'U'ume ta kwai	The clam-shell is beaten
Kwaia rikwarikwa	Beaten with a rolling sound
Toli suli baraa	Set out as portions at a feast

The pigs lie in the porch of the houses. They are summoned to their food by the beating of a clam-shell.

Salutations of Places. Every artificial island has its own salutation, setting forth its glories, and also referring to its physical characteristics. The salutation of Sulu Vou is as follows:

I Sulu Vou sulutei ingoingo	Sulu Vou, lifting the canoes in the wash of the waves
Gwai niu moringa	Given coco-nuts as its portion
Ramo oliolita	A succession of champions
'Ama kuku'a	Fern fronds hanging down
Ramo vei ngwela na	Champion with its children
Ramo vei genilaa	Champion with its women
Ramo vei ngwane na	Champion with its men
Lau talo inao	First to snatch the shields

The waves, coming through the opening in the reef, wash up in heavy weather against the sides of Sulu Vou. Owing to its position as the mother island of the neighbourhood, Sulu Vou claims an allocation of coco-nuts as its particular right at a feast in addition to its share of the food provided. The fronds of the lycopodium fern were inserted in the hair after a successful fight and the killing of a victim. The shields were kept in the smoke of the fires in the beu, and the salutation asserts the readiness of Sulu Vou men to fight.

There are two salutations of Däi, Gower Island: *I Dei e sigilangainia* (Däi, showing up on the horizon), a reference to its being seen from the hills of North Mala, and *Dai too aroaro 'ana* (Däi, dwelling in peace). Of Gao they say: *I Gao ulu mai i hara na*, and *'Ana Gao i fafo* (Gao, where you wade to the shore; Gao lying over there). Two of the passages in the reef have their salutations: *Urasi kwao* (Urasi foaming white); *Tae ka lebelebe* (Tae, where your heart is in your mouth). Of the rivers Hava and Ataa they say: *Hava lae konare* (Hava, where the evodia grows); *Ataa lalamoa* (Ataa that takes its toll of victims). People, women especially, who try to cross the North Mala rivers when they are in flood, are often drowned in the attempt.

An old man who is left alone in the beu, and who has no one to attend to his wants and bring him firewood, sings the following song:

'Ai filifili	Wood for collecting
Fili bare ngwane	The men collect it
Bare ngwane lea	The men have gone away
Lea mai ifai	Where have they gone?
I Afeafea	To the white men's land
Totoo taa'i nau	I am all by myself.
Ngwane ku aarai na	I am an old man
Tei ka ngalia si 'ai	Who will bring some wood
Ka harangi nau	To warm me with
Bare ngwela	You boys?

There are names in Lau for four days after "to-day," and also for "yesterday." The five days, including "to-day" are named thus: *Tara*, *tara'ena* (to-day); *bobongi* (to-morrow); *fulee* (day after to-morrow); *fafoni* (the third day on); *foọ kao* (the fourth day on); "yesterday" is *ro* (two) or *i ro*; "past days" is *dani gi* (days) or *i dani gi*.

Stars are called *bulu*, *bubulu*. The evening star is called *Bubu fanga* (Watcher of the meal), or *Kwaakwaali* (To break through); Mercury is called *Fafane Furii* (Climb to Furii), a village on the hills where the star appears overhead at daylight; *Ono ngwane* (Six men), is the Pleiades; *Na ola* (The canoe) Orion's Belt; the names of three men who compose the crew being *Falitei iroiro* (Paddle and search), *Nalu abai hao* (Bale with a sago-palm leaf), *Sera 'äu Kaakaa* (Comb with red and white plumes). The Southern Cross constellation is *Abe* (The four-man net); its two pointers are *Ro ngwane* (Two men). There is a constellation called *Bola* (Pigeon); one with six stars is *Haakai* (The tongs). Another is *Alimango* (The mangrove crab); the Milky Way is *Tala* (Path). A shooting star is called *Agalo tali* (Ghost going across). Iron is called *halo* (sky) or *lalina halo* (root of sky); and a bottle is *bubulu* (star).

The man in the moon is called *mata rago* (eyes cleaving fast). Mata rago is said to be the name of a certain child whose mother prepared for it the best of pounded food—taro and canarium nuts—and offered it to the child. It was refused, however, and the child kept on saying: "I want that white thing up there." It put out its hand and touched the moon, and was held fast there.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

The People of Morodo

STORIES are told in North Mala of a set of people who are called "People of Morodo," and these stories correspond exactly to the stories told about the people who are called Masi in Ulawa and San Cristoval. Every story about them does but expose their foolishness and their habit of doing everything in a kind of upside down fashion. Real people they are, not mere legendary folk, for people who live on the Morodo ridge to-day say they are descended from the people of Morodo about whom the stories are told, and they do not class them as ghosts, but as real men. The people of Morodo in the stories do everything that people do nowadays (except perhaps that they are not said to cultivate crops); they fish, they climb nut trees, they dance, they build houses, but nothing they do is right. Everything about them has an air of clownishness, of exaggeration, of futile effort and suicidal policy. The names of two of them, Sikwa ii'a (Nine fish), and Mamboi lau, were given to me.

The home of these people was on the Morodo ridge, after which they take their name. The site of their village is still pointed out, and it is not difficult to locate owing to their having dug a fosse round their beu which is said to have been built of mud. The rain of centuries has deepened the fosse till to-day it forms a distinctive landmark. In addition to the fosse there is another surviving trace of this people in the form of a pig carved in stone. The pig is said to have been caught at sea by Sikwa ii'a and carried to its present site. This pig must be compared with the stone carving of a pig at Ulawa, which is attributed to the Masi. Who these people were, no one, perhaps, will ever know. However the ascription of stone-working to them both in Ulawa and at Morodo furnishes a clue that may be valuable. I heard stories about worked stones found on the hills above Bita'ama harbour. That the man Sikwa ii'a is said to have caught the Morodo pig at sea may perhaps refer to an art of stone-working which was introduced from abroad. The beu at Morodo was built of mud, and the Masi at Ulawa, as well as O'ona at Manu eu in North Mala, used mud to caulk their canoes. The use of mud for caulking may refer to initial attempts to provide a means of stopping the seams of the canoes, but one would like to hazard the suggestion that the story about the house which was built of mud has a reference to the use of bricks for building by the people of Morodo.

A certain man of Morodo married a shore woman from Kwarea, near Coleridge Bay. She told him how good bonito were to eat. One day there was a fish-market on the beach and bonito were to be bought, so the wife sent her husband down. On the way back he rested at the spot called, " The dining place," and opened the package containing the cooked bonito which he had bought. He broke off a piece of the flesh and proceeded to eat it with a piece of cooked taro. In his occupation he dropped on the ground the piece of fish which he had broken off, and mechanically, without looking, he felt for it with his fingers. However the object which his fingers closed upon was the dirt of a black skink lizard, and this he conveyed to his mouth. As he tasted it he exclaimed: "Ugh! is this their fish that's so nice! It's rotten stuff!" He spat it out, and then threw the whole fish away.

When he reached home his wife said to him: " Where is the bonito ? " " I threw it away," he said, " it was bad. It was not good eating at all!" " Where did you throw it ? " she asked. " At the dining place," he replied. His wife went and got it and ate it all herself, not giving him any.

A man of Morodo took a spear to spear an eel with in the stream. As he waited he moved his foot to and fro in the water, talking to himself meanwhile and looking for the eel. Then, thinking that his foot was the eel, he stuck the spear right through it. "Oh," he cried, "I've speared myself!" This he said and died.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

Folk-lore

I. Animal Stories

1. *The Frog and the Snake*

THE frog and the snake called baekwa i Tolo were enemies, and neither one of them could endure the sight of the other. One day the frog lay in wait for the snake. He found him asleep, and forthwith fastened upon his nose. The snake stood up on end, and jumped about this way and that in his endeavours to be free from the grip of the frog. It was all of no avail, for the frog clung tight, and neither of them could do any more. Then the frog spoke and said: "My fighting powers are but small; if they were great I would kill you to-day." As he said this both of them died. This saying of his is now a proverb.

2. *The War of the Fishes.* Lau

It began at the place called Maanatafaa at Gwou ulu. The cause of the war was connected with the cooking of pounded taros and canarium nuts. When the fight had begun the fish called Gwaila (the stone-fish), was pelted with a piece of the taro pudding. It hit him on the forehead. Then the fish called Ume came up. Him they hit in the head with a spear, and the flints which they threw at him struck his tail. Then up came the fish called Inadi, and him they shot with fighting arrows. The fish called Fali, and the fish called Gwiagwia, both of these were shot with fighting arrows. When the fish called Ulafu saw that the fight had begun he uttered such loud cries that his mouth became permanently enlarged. A fish called Bebe gave such a hiss that his mouth now keeps on hissing. A fish called Meamea was lying in the doorway and they trod on it.

A fish called Sasaogora stood in front of the door. A fish called Au was shot with many arrows, until it was full of arrows. Then a fish called Nuto grew afraid and began to move away backwards. The cuttle-fish fled away backwards, putting a shield over its back. The two large garfish, Bokofu and Isoofu, were working away at each other's body, and the Bokofu said to the Isoofu, " You work at me first, and then afterwards I'll decorate you up too ! " The Isoofu gave answer : " That's all right, friend Bokofu ; when I have finished your decorations you can decorate me." When the Isoofu had finished decorating the Bokofu the fighting began in that war. The Bokofu was alarmed and fled away, and so he did not decorate the Isoofu. The Isoofu cried out and said : " You decorate me now, Bokofu ! " But the Bokofu answered : " How can I decorate you now that they have begun fighting ? "

This story accounts for peculiarities in the appearance of the various fish mentioned, and also records the habits of some of them. The stone-fish, *gwaila*, has a lump on its forehead which it is said to use for battering the coral in order to get its food. The *ume* has a horn on its forehead and also two cutting projections on its tail. The *inadi* has six poisonous spines on its back. The *fali* (sting-ray) has a tail which can inflict a bad wound, and the *gwiagwia*, a fish which lies in the sand on the bottom, has spines on its back. The *ulafu* (*Oligorus gigas*), is a fish with a very large mouth. The *bebe* when caught emits sounds which are like a hiss. The *meamea* is a sole, and the *sasaogora* is a flat-sided fish, the inference being in its case that it was squashed flat in the crowd. The *au* is a fish that blows itself out, and its sides are covered with rough excrescences. The *nuto*, a squid which floats on the top of the water, moves backward when disturbed. The cuttle-fish has a " bone " which acts as a protector to its soft body. The smaller of the two large garfish, *bokofu*, is a handsome fish to look at, with its slim body, its black back and silvery sides and belly.

II. Stories of Immigrants

1. *About Gwau Meo.* Tolo

There is a place called Kwaena Aabu, Holy Forest, at the head of the River Auluta (Alauta) which discharges near the village of Fiu on the west coast of North Mala. In the past a ghost was worshipped at Kwaena aabu whose proper name has now been lost, but locally he is known as Gwau meo, (Red-head). His own name was too sacred to be used, and so it has been lost. This man was an immigrant from overseas, and he landed at the stream called The water of Kela, or, The chief's mortar, which is situated between Fiu and the government station, Rarasu. He had one son with him and a company of followers. After landing he pushed on up into the hills, saying that he was unwilling to see Florida and Ysabel Islands. In due time he reached the head of the Auluta River, and stayed there when he found that the two islands were no longer visible.

The man had red hair and wore clothes, and he and his party came in an outrigger canoe, and not in a plank-built craft like those of the Solomon Islands. He brought a turtle with him, and he put it into a pool which to-day bears the name Tau funu (Wash turtle). This pool is very sacred, and no women are allowed to pass near it. Red-head wore a covering over his head, and never allowed his hair to be seen. One day, when he was bathing in the pool Tau funu, his grandchild saw his head uncovered, and cried out: "The hair of my grandfather is exceeding red!" The grandfather in his anger at having his hair seen killed the child by digging his nails into its head.

When the father returned from the garden he made inquiries for his son, and on finding what had happened he went off to live at a place called Ano mola in Fanoa. This is now a very sacred place.

At the time when Gwau meo landed there were no people on Mala, and he and his company are said to have populated

Mala. The story of Gwau meo is common to Areare, Faateia, Tali kali, and To'oa baita peoples. I owe this account of it to the kindness of Mr. N. C. Deck.

2. *The Story of Eight Brothers*

There is a place near Mount Kolovrat, Tolosi, in North Mala, which is called Uumu fou (The rock oven). I understand that the rock in question stands very high, that it is walled with stones, and that there are caves either in it or close alongside it. The whole district is full of sacred places which are associated with the ghosts, and with stories about people who appear to have been immigrants. In one of these stories eight brothers appear. They worshipped at Uumu fou, and they appear to be the objects of worship there now themselves. The number eight is used all through Mala for an indefinite number, or to express totality. These eight brothers all spoke the one language, but when they began to fight and quarrel with one another their language changed, and they spoke different tongues like the present day people of Mala. They then separated, one going to Sa'a, one to Lau, one to Kwara 'ae, etc., and the people of Mala are descended from them.

3. *Son of the Sun*

In the Langani district of the Bae Guu people, on the hills above Sulu Vou, there is a formal salutation of an unmarried Tolo girl who conceived by the sun, and who remained unmarried after giving birth to a son. Every day she remained in the village, and did not accompany the women to work in the gardens. She sat out in the open in the village weeding, and as she worked she sweated in the heat of the sun's rays, and conceived thereby. I was given to understand that there are several stories among the hill people of North Mala about women who bore children to the sun. The name of Sina Kwao's mother, Bira'ana hato (Cleave to the sun), points either to a tradition of her birth from the sun, or else it means that her own son, Sina Kwao, was conceived through the action of the sun.

4. *The Introduction of Food Plants.* Tolo

A man named Bora i Gao who came from Suuna rii was settled on the hills in North Malo. His son's name was 'Ota li gia. When the father was dying he asked his son to make him an artificial island in the sea so that he might go and die there. Every day the father asked his son how the work was getting on, and then when it was finished he was carried down and left there alone. The son was not to come near the island for six days. When he returned he found strange plants growing from his father's body, areca palms, coco-nut trees, bananas, sago-palms, betel pepper. He wondered at the sight and went back home. After a further six days he went to the island again, and found all the trees and plants flowering and spreading and filling the whole place. He took the fruit and the plants and distributed them among the people of the hills. Someone stole the areca nut which he took, and after a search he found it growing at Uumu fou.

5. *The Finding of the Edible Taro.* Tolo

A long time ago the people of North Mala ate only the things they could find in the bush, leaves and fruits of trees. They were food gatherers and not cultivators. There were three sisters, two younger and one older. The elder sister left her two sisters in the house, and went far off gathering what food she could find. It came to midday, and one of the two sisters, being hungry, said : " Where has our sister gone that she has not returned ? " Sitting in the house she called out to her : " Hey ! " There came a voice from outside in answer : " Yes ! " " Who is that ? Who can it be ? " said the frightened child. The sun was declining and the sisters were hungry. One of them said : " Why is she so long ? Where has our elder sister gone ? " She called out to her :

"Hey!" There came a voice from outside in answer "Yes!"

The two children were afraid and cuddled together. Towards evening the sister returned with leaves and fruit, and prepared a meal. The two younger sisters said: "Was it you we heard calling?" "Why, me!" she answered. "I have been ever so far off." "Oh! we heard someone call near at hand." "There is no woman or man about," their sister answered, "to-morrow I will watch and see what woman or man there is who calls aloud thus." The next day she hid and watched. Then the two girls called out to their sister to know where she was, and said: "Hey!" There came back the answer: "Yes!" The elder sister heard it, and she got up from where she was hiding and looked all about, but she saw neither man nor woman. Then the taro spoke and said to the girl: "I, too, am good for eating; very good." The taro was very big, and all round it were its children (suckers) growing from it. "You take me and my children and plant us. Cut down the trees and burn them; make a fence, cut a digging stick, and plant us." The girl returned and told her sisters what the taro had said. This is the story of the taro. They planted it as they had been told, and now we have the taro.

III. CANNIBALISM. Tolo

There was a woman who ate children, cutting them up with flints. She carried these flints with her in a bundle, and her name was "Bundle of black flints." She caught two children, and tied them up, and then went off to the garden to pull taros to eat with them. She left the children in charge of her grandchild, and by and by a bird arrived, and the children said to their warder: "If you let us go we will shoot the bird for you." The grandchild undid their bonds and let them go, and they killed the child and put it into the oven. The woman returned and ate the body she found in the oven, and when she saw a red cane bracelet on one of the arms, she recognized it as one she had made for her grandchild. She knew then that she had eaten her grandchild.

She went out to look for the two children, and finding a furi ngali (*Mus rex*), she asked it for news of the children. The big rat asked to be paid shell-money for giving news, but the woman said she had none. He then asked for porpoise-teeth, but she had none. Finally he asked for eight hairs of her head to put on his nose. This was granted, and he thereupon showed her where the children were. They had climbed up a big tree after setting sharp stakes in the ground round it. She demanded to be pulled up, so they pulled her up the tree and then dropped her as she touched their house. When she hit the stakes she cried out: "That hurts! your black ants bite!" Three times they pulled her up and dropped her on to the stakes, and then she died. All the people of the place gave presents of money to the two children.

CHAPTER NINETEEN

The Culture of North Mala

IT is only the outstanding character of the differences between the culture of the north and south ends of the island called Mala, as now ascertained, and that of the neighbouring islands that causes one to have any hesitation in saying that these differences are true of the island as a whole, and are not merely a peculiarity of the two ends. In my *Melanesians of the South-East Solomon Islands* I have shown that in Little Mala, with Ulawa, the descent is patrilineal, the family is bilateral, and there is a complete absence of clans and of totemism. These three cultural features of Little Mala are in sharp contrast to what obtains in the culture of the neighbouring islands. The evidence adduced in this book is to the effect that the culture of the north end of Big Mala is similar in these three respects to that of Little Mala. No examination, however, has been made as yet of the culture of the peoples of the central portions of Big Mala. From my own observation of the section of the Areare people now living at Marau Sound, Guadalcanal, I have no hesitation in saying that the south end of Big Mala does not differ in respect of these three cultural features from the north end. The central peoples of Big Mala, Koio, Faateia, etc., are certainly regarded by the Lau people of the north end as possessing a culture similar to their own; and the intimate connexion of the Koio and Faateia peoples with the immigration legends is clear evidence of the general conformity of their culture with that which obtains at the two ends of Mala.

There is evidence that at some time in the past North Mala possessed a matrilineal system. This evidence is derived from the relationship term *ko'o*; from the practice of a ceremonial fight at the time of taking a bride to her new home; and from the recognition of the cross-cousin relationship.

Dr. Rivers expressed the opinion that different terms were used in Lau originally for " mother's brother " and " grandparent," both of which are now expressed by the one term, *ko'o*. There is no evidence for what Dr. Rivers says, other than the philological one mentioned below, and a similar confusion of terms occurs elsewhere in the Pacific, though in a reverse order. Thus in Tonga *fahu* is the name given to all those relatives who exercise their authority over a man, viz., his sister's son and his daughter's son, his own sister or his father's sister or their children. It is applied also to the " noble grandchildren " of a chief. The addition of the " noble grandchildren " to the list of *fahu* in Tonga seems to throw light on the use of *ko'o* in Lau to describe the relationship both of grandparent-grandchild, and also of a man and his sister's children. Since Lau *ko'o*, *i.e. koko*, is allied to Malay *tuwa* (old), (the forms *kukua*, *tupui* occur elsewhere in Melanesia for " grandfather-grandchild "), it is probable that its application to the grandfather preceded its application to the sister's child; and this confusion of terms can be paralleled by Rivers' account of similar confusions among the island tribes of Fiji.

Dr. Rivers has furnished evidence from the Pacific of marriage between people who are two generations apart, and who are grandparent and grandchild in the classificatory sense to one another, and of marriage between a man and his mother's brother's wife, and also of marriage between actual brother and sister. Rivers also states (*see M.S.*, Vol. II, p. 332) that " the father's sister was at one time a potential wife." This gives us four of the relationships which are covered by the use of the Tongan *fahu*. The position in Tonga of the Tu'i Tonga Fefine, through whom the succession to the chieftainship appears to have been derived, may account there for a man's sister being his *fahu*, but Hawaii furnishes actual examples of brother-sister marriage in high chiefly families (*see* Rivers, *M.S.*, Vol. I, pp. 197, 199, 380). Hocart has shown (*Kingship*, p. 101) that all marriages everywhere are a following out of chiefly marriages; and the extension of the Tongan *fahu* from its presumably proper application to the mother's brother and sister's son relationship (as shown by its connexion with the Fijian *vasu*) may have been due to the marriage customs of the chiefs. In any case, the analogy of Tonga in the matter of the *fahu*, in the light of the marriages quoted by Rivers, seems to justify the explanation that the double application of *ko'o* in Lau points to a primitive matrilineal condition of things when a man's granddaughter and also his sister's daughter were both his potential wives.

In chapter four of this book an account is given of the mock fight which takes place in North Mala when a bride is fetched from her village. Hocart (*op. cit.*, Ch. VIII) has shown that marriage as a ceremony is derived from the coronation of kings; and from his account of the "ritual combat by arms or by ceremonies" which is a part (E) of the coronation ceremony as recorded by him, it seems fair to argue that this Mala custom of a mock fight is a survival of a primitive matrilineal condition of society. The recognition of a difference between ortho-cousins and cross-cousins in North Mala, and the grudging permission accorded to the second generation of cross-cousins to marry, link up its culture in this respect with that of matrilineal peoples. The presence of terms for elder brother or elder sister, and for a classificatory brother or sister, are also links with matrilineal peoples.

Assuming then that Mala was once matrilineal, what was the influence which caused the change in its culture? The only possible influence, one would think, would be the coming of a patrilineal people who possessed a higher culture. Hitherto there has been no definite evidence of the coming of migrants from Indonesia to the Solomons, and their presence has merely been assumed on the score both of linguistic evidence and also of cultural elements. Now that definite stories of migration are forthcoming, the evidence from language and from culture proves that these migrants came from Indonesia.

In connexion with the question of the spread of Indonesian elements of language in Melanesia by immigrant peoples, it is possible that the amount of influence exercised by the language spoken by the immigrants was proportionate to the numbers of the original population rather than to the size of any given island where they settled. If an island was thickly inhabited at the coming of the immigrants, it seems feasible that the language of the aboriginals would survive in the main ; while, if an island were only sparsely inhabited at the time of the immigration, the aboriginals, in their admiration of the new-comers, would adopt their language, thus producing what Mr. Ray calls the " pidgin-Indonesian," which is seen in the Melanesian languages. The present comparatively large population of Mala need be no objection to this supposition, for I have recorded above a folk-lore story to the effect that North Mala had only a few inhabitants when the immigrants from overseas went into the hill country ; and also that the whole of the population of Mala is descended from eight brothers, presumably immigrants, who were settled in that part of the hills at the north end which is so clearly connected with the stories of immigrations.

The man named Red Head, who figures in a migration story as recorded above, is said to have landed at a place on the west coast of Mala which bears a double name, Kela Kwai (The water of Kela) or Kakata Aarai (The chief's mortar). In this connotation names are an important factor as embodying history. The name Kela, or a variant of it, is found in two other places in the central Solomons. The south end of Guadalcanal is called Kela, and the association of foreign immigrants with this second Kela is set out in my *Melanesians of the South-East Solomon Islands*. The third application of the name is found in the case of the island Nggela (called Kela by the Mala people, the " ngg " being a nasalized form of " k "), which is generally known to-day as Florida. Very little is known of its folk-lore, but the ghosts of the Florida people all went to Malapa Island. One cannot but conclude that its native name also indicates a connexion with immigrants from overseas.

The alternative name for the landing-place of Red Head on Mala, The Chief's Mortar, might not be regarded as important but for the fact that in an Ulawa folk-lore story a mention is made of the mortar belonging to a chief who is said to have migrated there from Mala, and whose wife was a creative ghost, *i.e.* an introducer of food-stuffs. The place where the chief's mortar was taken ashore at Ulawa became sacred. What, then, were these mortars ? Do they refer to the introduction of the betel-mixture, and to the mortar which elderly people use for mixing the ingredients when their teeth have fallen out ? Or have we here a reference to stone mortars such as were found in New Guinea ? I am inclined to think that the mortars were stone mortars, and bear witness to a knowledge of stone-working and of mining operations on the part of the immigrants.

The story of another red-headed man, Sina Kwao, has been given above. He was the son of an aboriginal by an immigrant woman, who, with her brother, landed on the east coast of North Mala at a place which is held in great honour. His red hair is preserved to-day as a relic at Sulu Vou. Both Red Head and Sina Kwao are said to have covered their heads with a covering called *duuduu* (which means " to cover over ") in order to keep their hair from being seen. The Sa'a form of this word, *duu*, is used of the " pigtail " which appears on the carvings of men in South Mala and Ulawa. I have no doubt that this " pigtail " is a survival in local art of the head-covering used by the immigrants who landed at the three places called Kela. The presence of red hair has been noted in various places in the

Pacific, and the Maoris are a case in point. The liming of hair by the Solomon Islanders in order to produce an orange tint seems to be a reminiscence of the presence among them in the past of a red-headed chiefly people.

Who these red-haired immigrants to Mala were will be a nice point to settle. The Indonesian character of the Mala languages shows that these immigrants came to Mala from the west. With a view to their possible identification it will be as well to recapitulate here what is recorded about them. They were fair-skinned and wore clothes, and their hair was red. They were a maritime people and used double or outrigger vessels; they had some knowledge of stone-working, and they chose the hill-tops for their dwelling-places. They also made a practice of carrying live turtles with them. The taking of a turtle by the man called Red Head to a pool in the interior of Mala can be paralleled by the fact that at Lord Howe Island, in the Solomons, there are sacred turtles which are kept in a hole, and which the people say were brought to the island by their ancestors. Also this keeping of turtles is implied in the name of the Ulawa hero, Warahunuka ra'i i'a (Warahunuka keep tame fish), and the folk-lore stories also speak of the practice.

Other parts of Mala besides the north end have traditions of the founding of lines of chiefs by people who were fair-skinned, and the remote ancestress of a family on Little Mala is named "Lady of the fair skin." Mr. Layard records that on Malekula, in the New Hebrides, a person named Ambat, who is said to have been a white man, introduced the local culture. The philological evidence is that Ambat=A Mbat (*a* being the personal article in South Malekula), and Mbat=Kwat (the culture hero of the Banks Islands and the northern New Hebrides) whose doings were recorded by Dr. Codrington. That Kwat or Mbat should be said to be a "white man" opens up the possibility of a connexion between him and the fair-skinned immigrants into Mala mentioned above. It is worthy of notice that the "pigtail" of the Solomon Island figures is found also in the carvings of the Banks Islands and of the New Hebrides.

The arrival of the immigrants who came into North Mala was *via* the south end of Ysabel, for the ghosts of North Mala go either to Momolu, an island at the south-west end of Ysabel, or to Ramos Island, which lies midway between Mala and Ysabel. Also the salutation of the banana associates it with the south-eastern portion of Ysabel, and attributes its introduction into Mala to Momolu people; and the name of a reputed introducer of food-plants into Mala, Bora i Gao, connects him with Gao, Ysabel Island.

There is plenty of evidence that the immigrants into Mala were fighting-men. Fai Lau carried a noose with which he strangled men, and he had also a V-shaped crook for the same purpose. Sino Kwao, his sister's son, was instructed in the use of the noose for murderous purposes by his uncle. The name *agalimae* (war ghost) which is used on North Mala of the heroes whose weapons are said to be preserved as relics to-day in the various beus of the hill peoples, points to the introduction of war by a set of culture heroes. Dr. Codrington (*M.A.*, p. 261) states that the name of one of the ghostly rulers of Malapa Island, the southern home of the dead in the Solomons, is Kikiri pwau (The cutter-off of heads), and the name may well refer to a practice of head-hunting on the part of the immigrants who settled there. The Mala word for bow (*basi*) is the Gilolo *pusi*; and the Mala *fana* (to shoot with a bow) is the Malay *panah*.

Two women-ghosts, living on Malapa Island, bear the names "Lady carry on the shoulder at Kela," and "Lady Fan-alive." I have assumed above that the latter name has some connexion with a ceremonial resuscitation of the dead, a mummification, which was practised by the immigrants to Malapa. If this be so, the name of the other woman-ghost, which, to my mind, refers to the carrying up of the dead, on arrival at the beach, to the burial-place on the hill above, is also referable to a religious ceremonial connected with the bodies of those who were brought to Malapa at their death. The cessation of such practice of mummification seems to be implied by the story that death came into the world when "Lady Fan-alive" was killed.

It is not without significance that the creation of man and his rejuvenation should be associated on Mala with two things, both of which bear clear traces of introduction, the sugar-cane and the banana. At Sa'a, man is said to have sprung from the sugar-cane owing to the action of a creative ghost, *i.e.* an introducer of food-plants; on North Mala, the renewal of man's youth is associated with the banana. The Sa'a word for sugar-cane is *oohu*, which is the Malay *tebu*; the Lau word for banana is *bou* or *bau*, another form of *bua*, the word which is used elsewhere in the Solomons for areca nut, and which is connected with Malay *buwah* (fruit).

The Mala word *safu*, *sähu*, which is used for lime employed in magic, is connected with the Malay *kapur*, Batak *hapur*. The presence of such a word as *safu* on Mala may be considered as evidence of the introduction of the eating of the betel-mixture by Indonesian immigrants, and also as a proof of these immigrants having taught the aboriginals the use of lime in magic.

Immigrants appear, from the stories, to have introduced food-plants into North Mala as well as areca nuts, and it would seem also that they taught the aboriginals to build houses. Fai Lau is said to have proceeded into the hill country after landing, and to have found the aboriginals living in tree-houses. The story of the finding of the taro on page 293, shows that the aboriginals were food-gatherers. There is no wild edible taro on Mala, and quite apart from the witness of the story of Bora i Gao and the food-plants which sprang from his dead body, there is no doubt that the edible taro and the edible yam have both been introduced from Indonesia, as their Mala names, *alo* and *uhi*, would suggest. The present varieties of the taro and the yam on

Mala are not due to scientific cultivation, but to what Sa'a calls *hola*, "sports."

The North Mala word for pig is *boso*, the Sa'a and Ulawa word is *poo*, and both are the same as the Malay *babi*. On North Mala the pig is a sacred animal, and the eating of pork is a religious act confined in the main to the death-feasts of chiefs, and is accompanied by prayers and by a dedication of the pigs to the ancestral ghosts. Little Mala and Ulawa do not attach the same sacredness to the eating of pork, and in these two places pigs form an integral part of the marriage ceremonies. But since Mr. Hocart has shown that both the death-feasts of chiefs and also the marriage ceremonies belong to the coronation ceremony, one is justified in assuming that pigs were introduced into Mala by immigrant chiefs from Indonesia.

North Mala, as well as South Mala and Ulawa, has its traditions of people who were ignorant of how to make fire, and who in consequence ate their food raw. The Gosile of the Lau people, who, to some extent, may be equated with the Muumuu of south-east Guadalcanal, had no knowledge of fire-making. The word *muumuu* is onomatopoetic, and describes the inarticulate sounds, the babblings and the barbarous noises made by the wild people with whom the immigrants came into contact. Underneath this story of raw food eaters one catches a glimpse of an aboriginal people whom the immigrants taught how to make fire.

That Mala differs from her neighbours in being patrilineal while they are matrilineal can only be explained by assuming that she received a more direct immigration of patrilineal peoples from outside than they did. The aboriginal population was presumably a matrilineal one when the immigrants arrived, and owing either to questions of density of population at the time, or of variation in the impact of the new culture, the other islands remained matrilineal, while Mala adopted the patrilineal system of the new-comers. A North Mala story speaks of the colonizing of Mala from a point in the hills towards the north end, and those men who led the colonizing expeditions to the various parts would become chiefs wherever they settled, and would transmit their chiefly position. An instance of this sort occurred some thirteen generations ago on Little Mala when Pwaulo Paine and his brother moved from the hills to the beach. Little Mala also speaks of its colonization from a centre in the hills of the island, and of the setting up of chieftainships.

I have no evidence as to when the immigrants arrived on Mala. The generations of Irobaoa, given on page 69, go back to names of men twenty-six generations removed. On the other hand, I obtained a list of names at Sa'a of a man's ancestors that went back forty generations and pointed to the hills of Little Mala as their place of origin. A man of the 'Ai Seni people recited to me a list of his ancestors that contained sixty-six names. The list began with a man named Big Head, who lived at a place on the Morodo ridge. The Lau people were amused at the long list of names, and said that my informant had included collateral branches. The average genealogy in North Mala contains from twenty to twenty-five names, and this seems to point to a movement among the peoples, some five or six hundred years ago, which produced the present set of chiefs. But with the memory of the people of Morodo in one's mind, and the certainty that the ridge was occupied in very early times, there does not seem much reason to doubt the genealogy of my 'Ai Seni informant.

Dr. Rivers (*Psychology and Ethnology*, p. 260), referring to the Polynesian genealogies which have been interpreted as meaning that the Polynesians came out of Indonesia some six or seven hundred years ago, is of the opinion that these genealogies are those of chiefs who set up secondary movements within the Pacific, and that it is probable they are not genealogies representing the latest of the main streams of immigration into Polynesia. With regard to Mala, the Sa'a genealogy of which I have spoken, as well as the 'Ai Seni one, may well record local movements of chiefs, while that of Irobaoa and others represent movements that were later in date. The Mala man can retain names in his mind just as well as the Polynesian, and where his genealogies contain the fewer names it does not mean that his island has received a later flow of immigration, but rather that he is recording a local and comparatively late movement of chiefs. Irobaoa's people have evidently been settled at Suu for twenty-six generations, and their language shows that they were originally hill people from the neighbourhood. The cause of their descent to the sea is unknown to me, but perhaps it was owing to the introduction of fishing-nets from outside.

Mr. W. J. Perry, in a footnote on page 90 of his *Children of the Sun*, quotes Mr. Vincent Ball as saying that "semi-savage tribes never seem to discover a new idea for themselves, nor to modify in the slightest degree, when uninfluenced by superior races, their methods of performing any single act in their domestic economy." These words are certainly true of the people of Mala. One has often wondered how new ideas were ever propagated at all among them, and how any improvement or change in their ways of doing things was ever brought about.

The Melanesian mind is static; it has no inventive powers, and it does not seem capable of breaking new ground and starting off in a new direction. In everything that the Mala man does he follows the traditional way of doing the work, and this way he never departs from. When a certain art is customary in any place, the people of that place may practise it regularly, but visitors from any other place who watch the manufacture of the particular article will not set about making it for themselves when they return to their homes, even when the conditions are favourable for their doing so. How then did the manufacture of any particular article on Mala ever begin at all? How were the arts and crafts of the place propagated? The arts and crafts which are found on Mala are these: the making of fishing-nets, the building and inlaying of plank-built canoes, carving, house-building, the use of a dye and the plaiting of ornaments with the dyed material, the beating out of bark-cloth, the making of shell-money and of shell-ornaments, the building of artificial islands. Like every other native people in the world, certain families are found everywhere on Mala who excel in the making of particular articles, *e.g.* in canoe-building and in carving; but this is not to say that the art in any place is confined to the family in question. But there is no copying by others of an art or craft, no extension of its radius. The man who does not practise it is content to go to the makers elsewhere when he has need of their labours. If questioned, his excuse would be that such and such a thing was not made in his place. Cases never occur, *e.g.*, of a man going to a canoe-building place in order to learn the trade with a view to starting it in his own home. Much more, then, will he never evolve an art for himself; and one is forced to the conclusion that the existing arts and crafts have all been imported from outside.

I would make the following suggestion as to the spread of culture on Mala originally. The suggestion is based on an outstanding characteristic of the peoples of Mala: a Mala man will always follow a leader, he obeys authority and will carry out commands. If he does anything that is new to him, it is because of the influence which is exercised on him by some person whom he respects, and not because he is following an idea of his own. He is always ready to form a group round any person of superior status who comes to him. His interest is in people and not in ideas. It is owing most probably to association with people of a superior culture that the arts and crafts which he now practises were learned originally. There came those to his place who recommended themselves by their skill and prowess, or by their very newness and strangeness, and certain men joined themselves to the newcomers, and were set to work doing the things ordered. The sons of these strangers became chiefs in their stead, new communities were formed, and certain arts and crafts were firmly established. The growth of the artificial islands of North Mala has been traced from Auke on the west coast to Sulu Vou on the east. The idea of building such islands may well have come from a set of immigrants who were themselves fishermen, and whose own homes may have been built out in the sea. Others of these immigrants may possibly have settled at Suu near the north cape and taught the people there how to make nets. The presence of many lighter-skinned and slimmer people on the north-east coast must be due to foreign blood. The association of Auke with porpoise-hunting, which is seen in its salutation, "Auke of the porpoise-teeth," is proof that the porpoise-hunting started there at the outset. The story of the foreigners who dropped magic for porpoise-catching at certain places, points clearly enough to the foreign origin of the porpoise-hunting.

I cannot conceive of a local origin of the present-day arts and crafts of the Mala man; but, having in mind the love of the Mala man for persons in authority, I can conceive of him as a semi-savage person forming groups here and there round foreigners who were possessed of a superior culture, and of his being instructed in the things mentioned above. In addition, he would learn from the visitors how to make stone or shell tools, how to grow taros and yams, and he would learn also how to make weapons. The presence of outrigger canoes among the hill folk who live near Suu at the north end of Mala suggests that the plank-built craft superseded the outrigger canoe, which may have been of prior introduction.

My argument for the presence of immigrants on Mala, and for the introduction of food-plants, of war and magic, is founded on folk-lore tales and on names of people and places contained in the stories. These folk-lore tales are a real part of the life of the people. They are tales of heroes, of real men and women. Those who figure in them are not personifications of natural forces or of natural phenomena. The Mala man has no philosophical traits of mind; he knows facts, and he is content to record what he knows without philosophizing upon it. His folk-lore embodies the story of the happenings of his place, and records history. Some distortion and displacement in the tales has doubtless taken place during the course of the centuries, but there has been no wilful tampering with facts. The things of which his tales speak did actually happen. Again, with the names of immigrants, where a translation of them is possible, it is easy to see their great value as a description of the habits of the heroes, of their appearance, of their duties, their prowess, and their magical powers.

The stories given here of immigrants are confessedly stories from the hills, and are not Lau stories proper. Indeed, the Lau people have very little folk-lore of their own; all the stories are about hill men and their doings. This is only natural, seeing that the stories are all of things done in the dim past, and the Lau people are a new people. All the folk-lore is old, very old, and there is no attempt to make up anything new. The heroes of the stories are not spoken of as ancestors, but are regarded as beings apart, and this fits in well with the theory that they were immigrants possessed of a superior culture, who settled amongst a semi-savage people.

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